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EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA

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INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KHALJĪ SULṬĀNS OF DELHI AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES IN BENGAL.

BY G. YAZDANI.

Of the thirty-seven inscriptions dealt with in this article, thirty-one belong to the reigns of the Khaljī Sulṭāns,[1] 'Alā'u-d-Dīn and Mubārak Shāh, and six to their contemporary kings in Bengal, Kaika'ūs and Fīroz Shāh. The earliest and the latest epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, which are dated 698 and 715 A.H., respectively, come by a coincidence from Hānsi, which was an important military centre during the time of the early Musalman rulers of India, being situated on the route which passed from Bhatinda to Delhi and was often followed by the raiders from the North-West. Hānsi possesses four more inscriptions of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, proving again the importance of the town at the time. The other epigraphs of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn come from Fatehpur Sīkrī, Budaun, Bāngarmau (Unao District), and Rāprī (Mainpurī District) in the United Provinces; Rohtak in the Panjab; Delhi, the capital; Bayānā in Rajputana; and Petlād in the Baroda State. These places fairly represent the stretch of the country which in a settled condition was under the sway of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, although his conquests touched the furthermost corners of the Indian peninsula.

Mubārak Shāh's reign is represented by five epigraphs, three of which are from Bayānā, one from the Mirzāpur District, another from Cambay and another from the Aurangabad District in the Nizam's Dominions, indicating precisely the limits of his kingdom.

Of the inscriptions of Bengal kings, three belong to Kaikā'ūs, having been found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr District), Tribenī (Hooghly District) and Devīkot (Dinajpur District). The reign of Fīroz Shāh also claims three epigraphs, two coming from Bihar and one from Tribenī. The existence of all the early Muslim inscriptions of Bengal in Bihar and the country bordering it in the north and north-east shows that the Muslim Art had not penetrated into the interior of the Province during the first century of the Musalman rule.

Apart from these geographical details, the inscriptions furnish interesting data regarding the chronology and political events of the period. To wit, Kaikā'ūs, son of Nāṣiru-d-Dīn Bughrā Khān, whose name was altogether omitted by the court chroniclers of Delhi from the list of the rulers of Bengal, is affirmed by no less than three inscriptions to have been a king about the years 697-98 A.H.[2] Again, Governor Ẓafar Khān, whose origin and life the local tradition had treated as a myth, is proved to have been a historical personage by three epigraphs and his name, race and the province under his government are described.[3] Another inscription, from Petlād (Baroda State), clears the confusion caused by 'Alī Muḥammad Khān (author of the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*) and Firishta regarding the Governor of Gujarat who in 715 A.H. was, at the instance of Malik Kāfūr, called to the capital and slain there. The inscription

[1] Cunningham had seen another Khaljī inscription belonging to the reign of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn, at Bayānā, the tablet of which is not to be found now, although a careful search for it has been made. Cunningham describes the tablet as standing outside the Nohāra Masjid (Ukha Mosque). The removal of the tablet in view of the elaborate character of its writing is not a strange circumstance. A facsimile of the inscription is however preserved in *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, Pl. 14, and, with a view to compare it with other contemporary inscriptions, I have reproduced it in Plate XXIV attached to this essay. The inscription is fragmentary and contains only the name and a few of the titles of 'Alā'u-d-Dīn.

[2] See inscriptions I-III. To Thomas belongs the credit of arranging the genealogy of the descendants of Bughrā Khān from information given by the acute African traveller, Ibn-i-Baṭūṭa, in collation with the data furnished by inscriptions and coins.

[3] See inscriptions II, III and XXVIII, pp. 11-15 and 33. Also compare Mr. D. Money's article, *Temples of Triveni*, *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

(No. XXVII) confirms the statement of Barani that it was Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān who in 715 A.H. was Governor of Gujarat.[1]

The inscriptions studied in this essay may also prove useful to the students of Indian architecture as fixing the date of several important structures, namely, the 'Alā'ī Darwāza at Delhi, the Jhālar Bāolī and Ukha Masjid at Bayānā, the 'Idgāh at Rāprī, the Ẓafar Khān's tomb at Tribenī, etc. The greatest interest of the epigraphs, however, lies in their literary and calligraphic features. For example, inscription III on Ẓafar Khān's Mosque at Tribenī is the earliest Indian epigraph in Arabic verse, and all the more interesting because of its containing a chronogram at its end, which is the oldest example of its kind in Muslim epigraphy. Inscription VIII, on the Barsī Gate of Hānsi, on the other hand represents the earliest Muslim epigraph in Persian verse. Inscription XXX again from Hānsi, like the well-known chronogram of Babur's birth, *Shash Muḥarram*, indicates the week-day and the date of the month in respect of the completion of a building by the phrase, "*Duwum māhi Muḥarramo roz Jum'a*," while the year according to the Abjad system is obtainable from the numerical value of the letters constituting the phrase.

Of the total thirty-seven inscriptions, fifteen are in Arabic, one of which, as already stated, is in verse. The remaining twenty-two inscriptions are in Persian, seven of them being in verse and the rest in prose. The language of the Persian prose inscriptions has a strong admixture of Arabic words and phrases, so much so that some of the inscriptions with the exclusion of one or two words can be rendered into Arabic. The inscriptions in Persian verse cannot be classed as brilliant compositions and they seem to have been the work of ordinary poets.

The styles of writing represented by these inscriptions range themselves under two main classes; the bold, vigorous script of Delhi and the highly stylish ornamental characters of Bengal. The artistic genius of Delhi at this time was characterized by a lofty idealism, combined with a scrupulous sense of the perfection of the minutest detail and Fergusson's remark on the architecture of the period—"They built like Titans and finished like jewellers"—may appropriately be applied to the calligraphic productions of the age. The giant size of the 'Alā'ī Darwāza inscriptions with the beauty of the characters and the elegance of their arrangement, indeed, marks the culminating point of the Delhi calligraphic style of the early period (Plates VII-IX). The artistic merits of the style in places away from the capital diminish in proportion to their distance. The script, being fairly good at Hānsi, becomes somewhat rugged at Bayānā and altogether clumsy at Petlād and Khuldabād.[2]

The script of Bengal on the other hand has been characterized from the beginning by delicacy of form and subtlety of arrangement. These features may be noticed in the earliest Muslim epigraph there, the Baṛī Dargāh inscription at Bihar dated 649 A.H.[3] The intricate designs of the two Fīroz Shāh inscriptions, published in this essay (Plates VI *b* and XII), indicate the early forms of the fine *Ṭughra* writing of Bengal, which reached its climax a century and a half later during the reigns of the Habshī kings and the house of Ḥusain Shāh.

In collecting the material for this essay, I am greatly indebted to the Superintendents of the Archæological Survey, Eastern, Northern and Western Circles, who were kind enough to furnish me with inked rubbings of the inscriptions in their respective circles.

[1] See inscription XXVII, also Bayley's *History of Gujarat*, p. 39.
[2] See Pls. IV, XI, XIII and XXIII.
[3] *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, Pl. V.

I.—Inscription of King Kaikā'ūs of Bengal, found at Lakhisarai (Monghyr).

Blochmann, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII (1873), has noticed an inscription of Kaikā'ūs from Khagol (Khagaul, Dinapur Subdivision, Patna District), which is identical with our inscription in its wording as well as style of writing and, further, as the mark of the stone being broken occurs in both the records at the same place, there remains no doubt that they are one and the same inscription. Now, the rubbing of the inscription on which Blochmann's reading is based was sent to him by Cunningham who had either found the inscription at Khagol or was camping there at the time he forwarded the rubbing, which led Blochmann to believe that the inscription belonged to that place.

In the cold season of 1917 Maulawi Jamālu-d-dīn, Assistant to the Superintendent of Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, sent me rubbings of some inscriptions of Bengal, in which this inscription was also included, and it was marked by him as having been found in an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai in the Monghyr District. To make certain of the provenance of the epigraph I requested the Archæological Superintendent, Eastern Circle, to enquire into the matter through the Collector of Monghyr, who was kind enough to subsequently report that the inscription stone had been lying near an anonymous tomb at Lakhisarai for a very long time and the custodian of the local Dargah, as well as the old residents of the place, state that they have always seen it there.[1] As the inscription does not belong to the tomb where it is lying, and the local people are not interested in it, I would suggest that Government should arrange to have it removed to the Museum at Bankipore, because the inscription is important from a historic point of view, being one of the three inscriptions of Kaikā'ūs whose name is omitted from the list of the rulers of Bengal, as given by Persian historians, and whose period of reign has been determined only by epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

The fact that Kaikā'ūs was a son of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd (Bughrā Khān) is recorded by Amīr Khusrau in his well-known poem—*Qirānu-s-Sa'dain;* but the annals of Bengal of this period were apparently disregarded by the Delhi historians and the genealogy of the descendants of Bughra Khān (1282-91 A.D.) up to the accession of Ghiathu-d-dīn Bahadur (1319-30 A.D.) was constructed for the first time by Thomas from information contributed by Ibn-i-Baṭūṭa in collation with that supplied by coins and inscriptions.[2] The numismatic evidence places the reign of Kaikā'ūs between 691-702 A.H., while the inscriptions confirm him as the ruler of Bengal in 697 and 698 A.H.

Besides the name of Kaikā'ūs the inscription contains the name of Fīroz Aitigīn[3] and Ulugh Khān, who were governor and deputy-governor, respectively, of the extreme western districts of the kingdom of Bengal, as then constituted. Among the titles used with the names of Kaikā'ūs—

مالک رقاب الامم مولی ملوک العرب و العجم صاحب التاج و الخاتم

frequently appear on the inscriptions of the early Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi,[4] and یمین خلیفة الله and ناصر المومنین were used by Balban, the grandfather of Kaikā'ūs.[5] The title سکندر الثانی used for Fīroz Aitigīn is interesting, as it was used by the contemporary Delhi Sulṭān, 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khalji, and its assumption by a governor of Bengal seems to indicate that, at the time, the relations between the Delhi Court and the kings of Bengal were strained.

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[1] Letter No. $\frac{3770\text{-I}}{34\text{-}10}$, dated 21st September, 1918, from Rai Bahadur G. C. Bannerji, Officiating Collector, Monghyr, to the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.

[2] *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, pp. 146-48, and *Ibn-i-Batuta*, p. 128 (English translation).

[3] *Aitigīn*, full-moon.

[4] *Chronicles*, pp. 9-10, and *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, pp. 16, 17, 22 and 23.

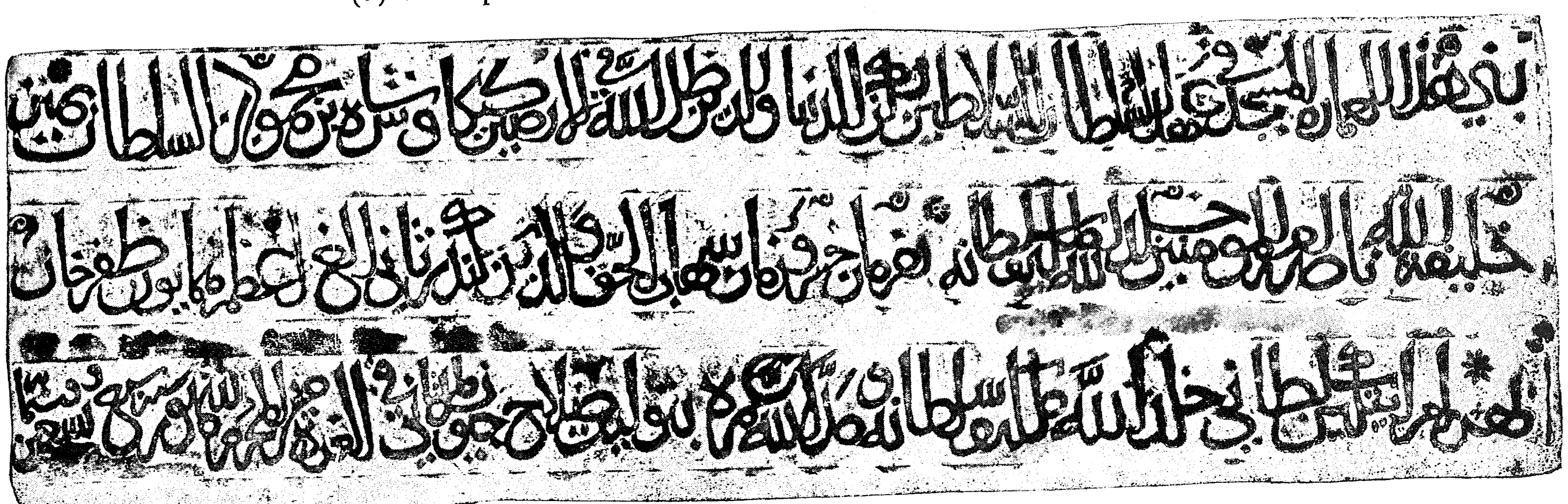
[5] *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 32, Pl. XIII *b*.

(*a*) Inscription on a broken slab lying on a grave at Lakhisarai (Monghyr).



Scale ·125

(*b*) Inscription in a mosque at Gangarampur (Dinajpur).



Scale ·2

The inscription is written in fine *Naskh* characters and the language is Arabic. The slab on which the inscription is carved is broken in two parts near the middle, both the parts together measuring 6′ 3″ × 9″. My reading of the inscription is as follows :—

PLATE XV (a).

(1) وفق[1] لبنا هذه المسجد الجامع في عهد الدولت السلطان المعظم مالک رقاب الامم
مولی ملوک الترک والعجم صاحب التاج والخاتم رکن الدنیا [کیکاو]س شاه السلطان بن سلطان
بن سلطان یمین خلیفة الله ناصر امیر المومنین (2) في نوبت الخان الاعظم خاقان المعظم
اختیار الحق و الدین خان خان الشرق والصین[2] سکندر الثاني فیروز ایتگین السلطاني خلد الله
دولته و ابد . . . . . المظفر المنصور الغازي ضیا الدولة والدین الغ خان ادام الله دولته
و زاد خیره في الغره من المحرم سنة سبع و تسعین و ستمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

In the reign of the great Sulṭān, the master of the necks of nations, the king of the kings of Turks and Persians, the lord of the crown and the seal, Ruknu-d-dunya waddīn Kaikā'ūs Shāh, the Sulṭān son of a Sulṭān (who was the) son of a Sulṭān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful; and during the administration of the great Khān the exalted Khaqān, Ikhtīyāru-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the Khān of the Khāns of the East and of China, the second Alexander, Fīroz Aitigīn as-Sulṭānī (the Royal slave), may God perpetuate his government and may God preserve . . . . . the victorious, the triumphant, the conqueror (especially combating infidels), Ẓīa'u-d-daula waddīn Ulugh Khān, may God keep for ever his administration and increase his benevolence, (he, *i.e.* Ulugh Khān), was directed by God to build this assembly-mosque. On the first of Muḥarram 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

II.—Inscription of King Kaikā'ūs of Bengal from Dinajpur District.

This inscription was first noticed by Buchanan in his *Historical Description of Dinajpur* (p. 51) and later by Thomas in the *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings* (p. 149), but to Blochmann belongs the credit of publishing the text of the inscription for the first time.[3] The inscriptional slab is fixed into the wall of Mulla 'Aṭa's tomb at Devīkot (25° 11′ N. and 89° E.), in the Dinajpur District. Blochmann has confused Devīkot with Gangārāmpūr, a place three miles south of it, and this is why Cunningham rather charily remarks :—" The tomb of Ata, and consequently all the inscriptions, are at Devikot, or Damdama, and not at Gangârâmpur, as Blochmann was led to believe. Gangârâmpur is 3 miles distant to the south and was formerly the Police station of the district, by which the civil officers are in the inconvenient habit of describing all places no matter how far distant."[4] Devīkot according to legend was the citadel of Bannagar, and Cunningham found brick walls and fragments of moulded bricks together with six stone pillars of Hindu workmanship there. In the times of the early Muslim rulers of Bengal, Devīkot was an important outpost on the northern frontier of their kingdom and it was here that Bakhtīyār Khaljī died after his unsuccessful expedition into Tibet.[5]

[1] Blochmann could not decipher this word. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 247.
[2] A title often used by governors at this time. *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, pp. 18, 23 and 30.
[3] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 102-104.
[4] *Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. XV, p. 97.
[5] *Elliot*, Vol. II, pp. 309-10.

The inscription records the erection of a mosque during the reign of Kaikā'ūs and the governorship of Ẓafar K͟hān Bahrām Aitigīn, under the superintendence of Ṣalāḥ Jīwand of Multan in 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.). Cunningham has observed that no trace of this building exists now. The tomb of 'Aṭa and its adjuncts, referred to in three other inscriptions of the reigns of Sikandar S͟hāh (1358-89), Muẓaffar S͟hāh (1490-93) and Ḥusain S͟hāh (1493-1518), respectively (fixed into the wall of the tomb),[1] are evidently posterior in date to the mosque described in our inscription, which does not mention the name of 'Aṭa. The titles of Kaikā'ūs in the inscription are somewhat brief; but it contains the name of his father Maḥmūd (Nāṣiru-d-dīn), instead of styling him *Sulṭān ibn-i-Sulṭān ibn-i-Sulṭān*, as in the Lakhisarai inscription. The mention of the real name, بہرام ایتگین, of Ẓafar K͟hān is interesting, as Mr. D. Money, in an article styled *The Temples of Trivenī near Hughli*, has narrated some curious legends about his origin and the events of his life.[2] The similarity of the name, بہرام ایتگین, to that of the contemporary governor of the western frontier of the kingdom of Bengal—فیروز ایتگین—may lead to the conclusion that they were brothers and governed the western half of the kingdom, Fīroz Aitigīn ruling the westernmost districts, Monghyr, etc., and Bahrām the territory on the east of them, Dinajpur, Tribenī, etc. This inscription and the two epigraphs at Tribenī, which are noticed in this paper elsewhere (pp. 13 and 33), prove him to have been the governor of these districts from 697 to 713 A.H., and from the texts of these records he seems to have been fond of architecture, was a patron of learning, liberal, brave and a zealous Musalman. He was a Turk, a fact apparent from his name Aitigīn, a Turki word meaning 'beautiful moon.' The title—Sikandar T͟hānī—used for Fīroz Aitigīn in the Lakhisarai inscription, has been used here for Bahrām Aitigīn, which supports the surmise noted above (p. 10) that at this time the attitude of the kings of Bengal towards the Sulṭāns of Delhi was one of rivalry and independence.

The name of the supervisor, Ṣalāḥ Jiwand, as observed by Blochmann, is somewhat unusual. 'Jiwan' without the final *dāl* is common; but the letter is quite distinct in the inscription. 'Jiwand' seems to be a corruption of 'Jiwan' in this case.

The inscription is in the Arabic language and written in *Nask͟h* characters. It comprises three lines and is cut on a tablet measuring 3′ 5″ × 1′ 1″. I read it as follows:—

PLATE XV (b).

(1) بني هذا [3] العمارة المسجد في عهد السلطان [4] السلاطين ركن الدنيا والدين ظل الله
في الارضين كيكاوس شاه بن محمود بن السلطان يمين (2) خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو زمان شهاب الحق والدين سكندر ثاني الغ اعظم همايون
ظفر خان (3) بهرام ايتگين سلطاني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و مد الله عمره بتوليت [5] صلاح
جيوند ملتاني في الغرة من المحرم شهور سنة سبع و تسعين و ستمائة ⊙

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1 *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 104-107. 2 *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 395-96.

3 هذا is grammatically incorrect. It should have been هذه.

4 *Alif* and *lām* before *Sulṭān* are grammatically incorrect.

5 The word has been used in an identical sense in an inscription on the Aṛhāi din ka Jhonpṛa at Ajmer. *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 15, and *J. A. S. B.* for 1848.

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was constructed during the reign of the king of kings, Ruknu-d-dunya waddīn, the shadow of God on all lands, Kaikā'ūs Shāh, son of Maḥmūd, son of the Sulṭān, the right arm of the vicegerent of God, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule !—by the order of the lord of his times Shihābu-l-ḥaqq waddīn, the second Alexander, the great, exalted, auspicious, Ẓafar Khān Bahrām Aitigīn as-Sulṭāni—may God perpetuate his government and authority—and may God prolong his life !—under the supervision of Ṣalāh Jīwand of Multan. On the first of Muḥarram among the months of the year 697 A.H. (Saturday, 19th October, 1297 A.D.).

III.—Arabic inscription of King Kaikā'ūs in Ẓafar Khān's mosque at Tribenī (Hooghly District).

Tribenī (22° 59′ N. and 88° 26′ E.), which has now dwindled down into a village, was in ancient times an important town and a centre of Hindu learning. It derives its name from its situation at the junction of three streams, the Ganges, the Saraswatī and the Jamuna. After the advent of the Musalmāns in Bengal it assumed the name of Firozābad, which is still known among the Muslim population of the place. The people refer the last name to Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh of Delhi; but Blochmann was right in connecting it with Fīroz Shāh of Bengal, whose name is commemorated in an inscription in Ẓafar Khān's tomb at Tribenī.[1]

Ẓafar Khān's mosque, on which the present Arabic inscription is carved, is built out of the materials of old Hindu temples and about its architecture Blochmann remarks :—" The low basalt pillars supporting the arches are unusually thick, and the domes, as in the Panduah mosque, are built of bricks, of successive rings of stones, the diameter of each layer being somewhat less than that of the layer below, the whole being capped by a circular stone, covering the small remaining aperture."[2]

The two historical names mentioned in the inscription are those of Ẓafar Khān and Kaikā'ūs to whom a reference has already been made in this paper (pp. 10-12). The inscription commemorates the establishment of a school which apparently formed the nucleus of the institution founded by Ẓafar Khān at Tribenī in 713 A.H.

The inscription is in Arabic verse and it is the oldest record of its kind in India. It consists of sixteen lines, of which Blochmann was able to decipher only two fully. It is, however, written in fine *Naskh* style and, excepting the portions where the stone has decayed, the writing is quite legible. The literary style of the inscription is somewhat heavy, but still there are no grammatical mistakes, and the chronogram at the end is important, being the earliest example in the Muslim epigraphy of India.[3]

The mosque contains several inscriptions and our epigraph is cut in raised letters around the principal niche (Miḥrāb) which is built in the pillar-and-lintel style. The inscription is divided into four parts—the religious text, with which it begins, is carved on a small tablet ($13\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{2}''$) fixed above the lintel of the niche; the first twelve verses are on the lintel (the written surface measuring $6' \ 8'' \times 13''$), verses 13-14 on the right post (inscribed surface measuring $5' \ 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$) and the last two verses, *viz.* 15-16, on the left post (the written surface measuring $5' \ 5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$).

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 282.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 283.
[3] Another chronogram, composed in a similar style, is given in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 246.

شد کوچ تمرخان و طغانخان زجهان * اوارل شب گذشت این آخر شب
آدینه و سلخ ماه شوال لقب * خ بود و س و د از تاریخ عرب

This chronogram, however, was not composed for an inscription.

I read the inscription as given below :—

PLATE II.

قال عليه السلام تعلموا العلم فان تعلمه للطاعة و طلبه عبادة

و مذاكرته تسبيح . . . .

(1) . . . . * لنصب درس و اتخاذ مدارس

(2) سليل القضاة النصير محمد * يلقب بالبرهان قاضي الحمارس

(3) و قد انفق الاموال في الدرس حسبة * ليرضى به الرحمن عن كل دارس

(4) فيرزق اهل الفضل من عرض ماله * لتدريس علم الشرع فوق الطنافس

(5) . . . . * لاظهار دين الله بين الغطارس

(6) . . . . . ترس من الدرس يتقى * به الشر ما لا يتقى بالتارس (؟)

(7) بنوبة سلطان السلاطين عهده * حكى عن عهود الجم كل المجالس

(8) ملاذ الورى ركن الدني كيكاوس * يدوم له الدنيا دوام الهواجس

(9) . . . . * تبدى ظفر خان هزبر العنابس

(10) بفتح بلاد الهند في كل ركضة * و شيد بناء الخير بعد الدوارس

(11) و قلع علوج الكفر بالسيف و القنا * و بذل كنوز المال في كل بائس

(12) و احيى بقاع الشرع من بعد ميته * بتلخيص برهان العلوم الفرايس

(13) فيرجو من الفقهاء بانيه دعوة * لتثبيت ايمان اوان الحنادس

(14) جز الله خيرا انه محض رحمة * و برو احسان لاهل القلانس

(15) و تعظيم علماء الشريعة جملة * لاعلاء اعلام العلم العمالس

(16) بتاريخ حاء من سنين و صادها * و خاء حروف الوفق حسبان قالس[1]

TRANSLATION.

He (Prophet Muḥammad), may peace be upon him, has said :—

You should acquire knowledge, for its acquisition is verily submission, its search is devotion, its discussion is glorification . . . .

(1) . . . . to institute lectures and to establish schools.

(2) The offspring of Qāzīs, an-Nasīr Muḥammad, who for (the strength of) his argument is styled Qāzi, the tiger.

(3) He has spent large sums of money on education for the sake of God; so that the Merciful One may be pleased through his (Qāzi's) munificence with every student.

[1] The metre of these lines is *Ṭawīl*.

(4) From his private money he grants subsistence to men of learning, besides providing them with carpets, (and these facilities are) for the inculcation of the Muslim law.

(5) . . . . to manifest the Divine faith among the haughty.

(6) Through education . . . . . . a shield that can avert such evils as cannot be avoided with the help of a shield-bearer.

(7) In the reign of the Sulṭān of Sulṭāns, whose government has revived the memory of all the assemblies of Jamshed's time.

(8) The refuge of mankind, the prop of the world, Kaikā'ūs, may the world last for him as long as ideas occur in the mind!

(9) . . . . Ẓafar Khan, the lion of lions, has appeared.

(10) By conquering the towns of India in every expedition, and by restoring the decayed charitable institutions.

(11) And he has destroyed the obdurate among infidels with his sword and spear, and lavished the treasures of his wealth in (helping) the miserable.

(12) And he has revived the institutions of the faith, after its destruction,[1] by selecting arguments based on intuitive knowledge.

(13) The builder expects blessing from such as are learned in the law for the protection of his faith at the time of intense darkness (the darkness or the grave of death).

(14) May God reward him (the builder), for he is all mercy, and benevolence and bounty to the wearers of *qalansūa* (pious persons).[2]

(15) And (he has the utmost) respect for all the learned in the faith, in order to elevate the standards of scholars and the virtuous.[3]

(16) (The school was built) in the year obtainable from the letters حاء , صاد and خاء , the numerical value of which (8+90+600) tallies with the calculation of the chronologist. 1298 A.D.

IV-V.—Inscriptions on the Ḥammālon ki Masjid at Hansi (Hissar District).

These inscriptions, which are two in number, have not been published before and their rubbings were found in the posthumous papers of the late Maulawī Muḥammad Shu'aib. They are cut on two red sandstone slabs which are fixed into the spandrels of the central *mihrab* of Ḥammālon ki Masjid at Hansi. This mosque is a small, modern structure and has no pretension to any architectural merit. It comprises a courtyard and a prayer-hall—the latter has three arched openings and measures 30′ 5″ × 9′ 6″. The inscriptions, like several others of Hansi, are not in their original position, the reason of this disorder, as already pointed out by me in a previous issue of this Journal,[4] being that the Fort of Hansi was dismantled in 1857 and the materials were sold. The purchasers subsequently set up the sculptured fragments and inscribed tablets in an indiscriminate manner according to their fancy.

Both the records are fragmentary, but the titles of the Sulṭān ('Alā'u-d-dīn), the date and a portion of the genealogy of the builder are preserved. The language is Arabic and the style of writing is a plain *Naskh*, the letters being quite legible where the stone is not broken. The

[1] Cf. لِّنُحْيِيَ بِهِ بَلْدَةً مَّيْتًا (*Qur'ān*, Chap. XXV, verse 49).

[2] *Qalansūa*, a close fitting cap used by the companions of the Prophet.

[3] '*Amatlus*, the name of a pious and kind-hearted person who carried his mother on his back for the pilgrimage.

[4] *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 17.

inscriptional tablets in their present condition are of a uniform size and each of them measures 20″ x 14″. I read the texts thus :—

PLATE III (a).

(1) . . . . طان السلاطين في العالم

(2) . . . . ث ملك سليمان سكندر الثاني

(3) . . . . و سلطانه في التاريخ

(4) . . . . المحرم سنه ثمان و تسعين و ستمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

. . . . the Sulṭān of the Sulṭāns of the world, ... the heir to the kingdom of Solomon, the second Alexander . . . . and his sovereignty! On the . . . . . . Muḥarram 698 A.H. (October, 1298 A.D.).

PLATE III (b).

(1) . . . . الرحمن الرحيم قال . . . .

(2) مفحص قدة [1] بنى الله له بيتا . . . .

(3) نا . . على بن محمد بن . . بن محمد بن عبد . .

(4) بن فضل بن ربيع رحمة الله عليهم . . . .

TRANSLATION.

. . . . most Merciful and Compassionate. Said . . . . *as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him* . . . . 'Alī son of Muḥammad son of . . . . son of Muḥammad son of 'Abd . . . . son of Faẓl, son of Rabī', may the mercy of God be upon them! . . . .

VI.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī from Sahiswān (Budaun).

The earliest mention of Sahiswān occurs in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, but its close proximity to Budaun (18 miles west) does not preclude the possibility of its fort, which legend attributes to a Hindu raja, being an important stronghold during the rule of the early Sulṭāns of Delhi. 'Alā'u-d-dīn, as a prince, was governor of Budaun, and when, after his uncle Jalālu-d-dīn's murder, he marched from Kaṛa, he passed through Budaun, where his force was largely increased, amounting to fifty-six thousand horse and sixty thousand foot.[2] In the early part of his reign the fief of Budaun was conferred on 'Umar Khān, who subsequently, taking advantage of the Sulṭān's absence from the capital during the siege of Rantambhor, broke out in revolt. The Sulṭān sent some officers to quench the rebellion and before 'Umar Khān could effect anything he was taken prisoner and punished.

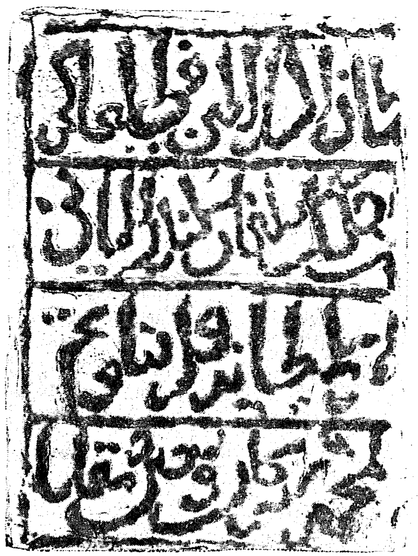
The inscription is dated 700 A.H. (1300 A.D.), about the time that 'Umar Khān's revolt subsided, and records the building of a strong fort by the order of 'Ala'u-d-dīn. The inscriptional tablet is now in the Jāmi' Masjid at Sahiswān (Qāẓī Muḥalla),[3] with which it apparently

[1] The correct spelling of the word is قطاة.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 158.

[3] *Kanzu-t-tarikh* by Raẓiu-d-dīn, pp. 95-6 (Niẓamī Press, Budaun, 1907).

(*a*) Inscription on the left side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



Scale ·162

(*b*) Inscription on the right side of the central Mihrab, Hammalon-ki-Masjid, Hansi.



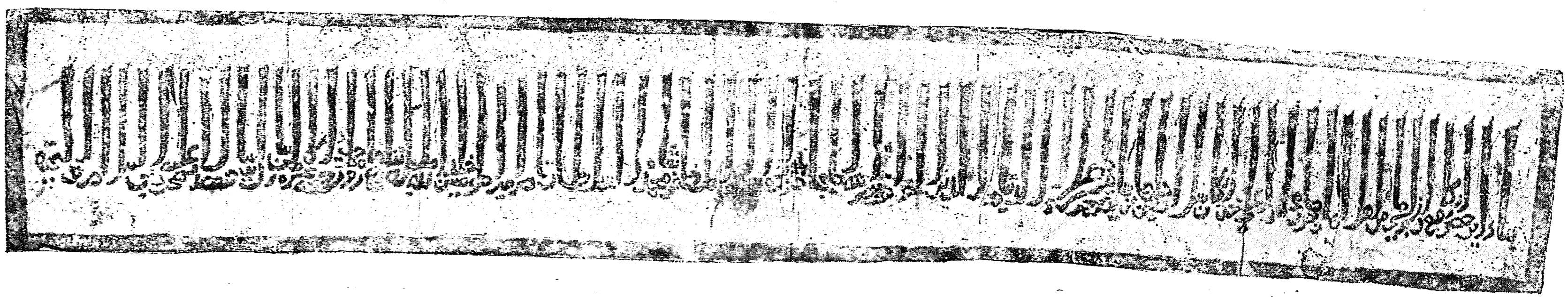
Scale ·162

(*c*) Inscription in Ikhtiyaru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.



Scale ·11

(*a*) Inscription in the old Jami' Masjid, Sahiswan (Budaun).



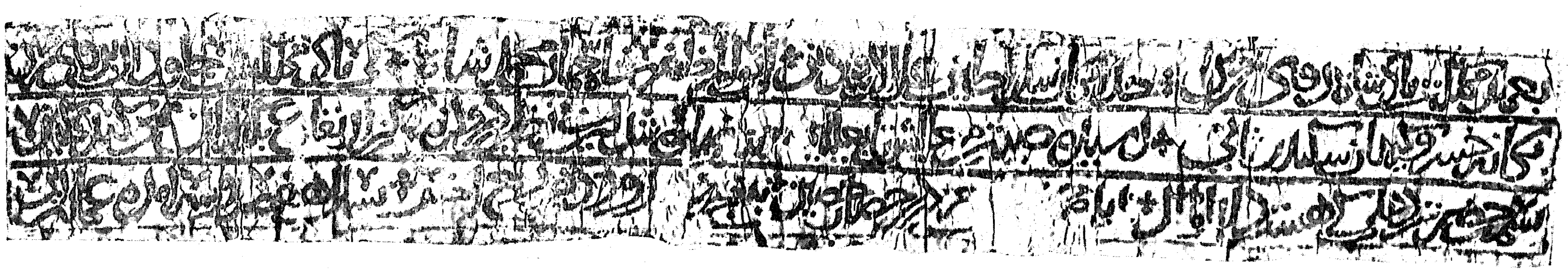
Scale ·125

(*b*) Inscription in Sayyid's Dargah, Bangarmau (Unao, U. P.).



Scale ·2

(*c*) Inscription on the Barsi Gate, Hansi.



Scale ·08

has no connection, and seems to have been brought from the local fort after it had fallen into ruins.

The style of writing is interesting from a palæographic point of view, showing a tendency of arranging the *Naskh* characters in such a manner as to produce a decorative effect—the beginning of the *Ṭughra* style. Here the artist has made all such letters as have a vertical stroke at their beginnings or at their ends prominent by arranging them in a series of lines like a row of arrows. A most beautiful example of this device is the Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh inscription of Gaur, dated 863 A.H.[1]

The language of the inscription is Persian and it consists of one line only. The inscribed portion of the tablet measures 5′ 9″ × 11″. I read the text thus :—

PLATE IV (a).

بناء این حصن رفیع ارکان . . . . . مامن اهل ایمان بفرمان مجلس اعلی خدایگان
سلاطین جهان سایه رحمت یزدان علاء الدنیا و الدین الواثق بنصر الله المجاهد في سبيل الله
ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه بتاریخ روز جمعه غره ماه
جمادي الاولی . . . سال هفصد از هجرت نبي علیه السلام و التحیة ⊙

TRANSLATION.

This fort with lofty pillars . . . . , the refuge of the Faithful, was built by the order of His exalted Majesty (lit., presence) the lord of the Sulṭāns of the world, the shadow of Divine mercy, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the king trusting in Divine help, the warrior for God's sake, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom ! On Friday the 1st of Jumada I, 700 years after the 'migration' of the Prophet, may peace and blessings be upon him ! (13th January, 1301 A.D.)

VII.—Inscription in Jalalu-d-dīn 'Ali's tomb at Bangarmau (Unao District).

Bangarmau has been identified by Cunningham and some other writers with Na-po-ti-po-ku-lo of Hiuen Tsiang, on account of its having in its neighbourhood a number of ancient mounds called Nawal.[2] In the history of the Islamic period we find no reference to it till the reign of Ibrāhīm Lodī, when certain nobles from the Imperial Court, while proceeding to Lucknow, were ambuscaded and defeated near Bangarmau by the troops of Prince Ā'ẕam Ḥumāyūn, who was then in prison in Agra.[3]

The inscription is referred to by Cunningham, who has given only the date of it, and the text and a translation of it are being published for the first time. A new fact discovered by the decipherment of the inscription is that it gives the name of the saint, whose death it records, as Jalālu-d-dīn 'Alī b. 'Āyam, while Cunningham calls him 'Alā'u-d-dīn bin Ghanaun, which is supported by local tradition. It appears that in the beginning some one deciphered the name of the saint wrongly and the mistake committed by him was not rectified afterwards.

The tomb of the saint is a small structure of the early Pathan style comprising a square chamber (16′ 3″ each way) surmounted by a dome, and a double hall in front of it. The inscription is carved over the entrance door of the tomb and measures 3′ $7\frac{1}{2}$″ × 6″.

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[1] *J. A. S. B* for 1873, Pl. V. [2] *Reports*, Vol. XI, pp. 48-53. [3] *Elliot*, Vol. V, p. 15.

The style of writing is *Naskh* with a distinct tendency towards *Ṭughra*, and the language is Arabic I read the inscription thus :—

PLATE IV (b).

. . . . الدنيا المجتهد الاجل الكبير العالم الفاضل المبجل المخيف جلال
الحق والدين علي ابن عايم السميساطي قدس سره و وصل روحه الى جوار رحمة الله تعالى
الثاني عشر من ربيع الاول سنه اثني و سبعماته ⊙

TRANSLATION.

. . . . the world, the warrior, great and exalted, the *savant* accomplished, profound and awe-inspiring, Jalālu-l-ḥaqq waddīn 'Alī bin 'Āyam of Sumaisāṭ,[1] may his grave be hallowed and may his soul be taken into the neighbourhood of Divine mercy ! On the 12th of Rabī' I in the year 702 A.H. (Sunday, 4th November, 1302 A.D.).

VIII.—Inscription on the Barsī Gate, Hansi.

This inscription has been noticed in the *P. A. S. B.*, 1877 (p. 122), but the facsimile is now being published for the first time. It is carved on the Barsī Gate of Hansi and records the building of a lofty gate by 'Alā'u-d-dīn in 703 A.H. (1303 A.D.). The script is a vigorous *Naskh* peculiar to the period of the early Sulṭāns of Delhi. The inscription is interesting from a literary point of view, being the oldest epigraph in Persian verse in India.[2] It consists of six verses which are carved in three lines on the stone.

The inscriptional tablet measures 9′ × 1′ 7″. My reading is given below :—

PLATE IV (c).

(1) بعهد مملكت بادشاه روى زمين * خدايگان سلاطين علاء دنيا و دين
(2) ابو المظفر شاه جهان محمد شاه * كى باد مملكتش جاردان بروى زمين
(3) يگانه خسرو گيهان سكندر ثاني * رسيده صيت معاليس تا به عليين
(4) بنا نهاده شد اين بى نظير دروازه * كز ارتفاع بكيوان همي كند تمكين
(5) بسمت حضرت دهلي كى هست دارالملک * . . . . [3] در حصار حصين
(6) بپنج شنبه و روز دوم ربيع آخر * بسال هفصد و سه آمده عمارت اين[4]

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe (lit., face of the earth), the lord of rulers, Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn.

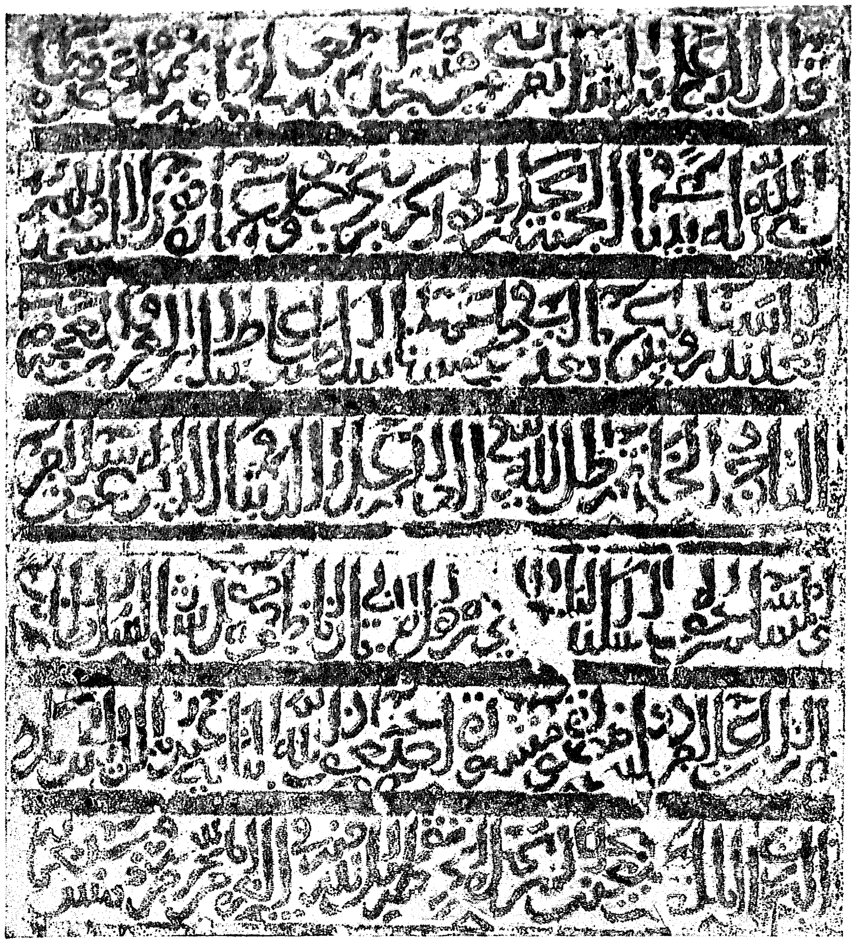
[1] Sumaisāṭ, a town on the bank of the Euphrates.

[2] Niẓāmu-d-dīn writes (*Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Lucknow, p. 29) that Malik Taju-d-dīn Riẓā composed a Rubā'ī on the conquest of the Fort of Gwalior (633 A.H.) which was carved there. A search has been made for the inscription, but no trace of it is to be found.

[3] The stone is broken here.

[4] The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

(*a*) Inscription in the Qazi's Mosque, Bayana.



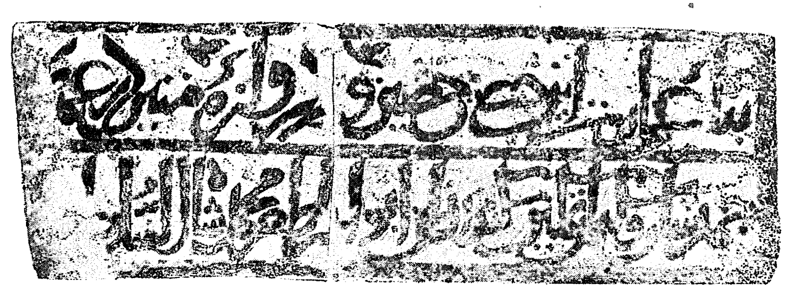
Scale ·25

(*b*) Inscription in the Jami' Masjid, Alapur (Budaun).



Scale ·09

(*c*) Inscription on a slab fixed to the ground near the grave of Shah Ihtishamu-l-Haq, outside the old Hisari Gate, Hansi.



Scale ·071

(2) Abu-l-Muẓaffar, the king of the world Muḥammad Shāh, may his kingdom last for ever on the face of the earth !

(3) The unrivalled monarch of the world, the second Alexander, the fame of whose noble deeds has reached the highest heaven.

(4) (He) built this matchless gate which, in loftiness, surpasses Saturn (the keeper of the seventh heaven).

(5) Facing the exalted city of Delhi, which is the seat of the kingdom . . . . in the strong fort.

(6) It was Thursday, the 2nd of Rabī' II, 703 A.H. (14th November, 1303 A.D.), when this building was completed.

IX.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn found outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi.

The inscriptional tablet is not *in situ*, but it is now fixed to the ground near the grave of Shāh Iḥtishāmu-l-Ḥaqq, outside the old Hisari Gate of Hansi. The epigraph is fragmentary, as the tablet seems to have broken some time ago in several pieces, only two of which exist at present; these have been joined and fixed to the ground. The broken pieces jointly measure 4′ 6″ × 1′ 7″.

The inscription records the erection of a strong fort and gateway by 'Alā'u-d-dīn at Hansi. This record is probably of the same period as the Barsī Gate inscription of Hansi, 703 A.H. (*ante*, p. 18), which also mentions the fact that the fortifications of Hansi were rebuilt by 'Alā'u-d-dīn.[1]

The style of writing is a bold *Naskh* and the language is Persian. My reading of the text is as follows :—

PLATE V (c).

(1) بناء عمارت این حصن حصین و دروازهٔ متین در عهد . . . .

(2) جم نشان و سلیمان تمکین سکندر الثاني ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلط . . . .

TRANSLATION.

This strong fort and massive gateway were built in the reign . . . . . with Jamshid's dignity and Solomon's glory, the second Alexander, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān . . . . . .[2]

X.—Inscription on the Qāẓī's Mosque at Bayana.

Cunningham has given the text and a translation of the inscription, which are defective in some respects owing to his unfamiliarity with Arabic, the language in which the inscription is composed.[3] It is carved on a stone tablet (1′ 9½″ × 1′ 6½″) fixed over the entrance door of the Qāẓī's Mosque at Bayana.[4] The mosque is a small structure comprising a hall supported on six pillars, a small court and an entrance door.

The style of writing is *Naskh*, the letters being bold, but somewhat rough in finish. The inscription records the reconstruction of a mosque and a well in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn by

1 No doubt, 'Alā'u-d-dīn fortified Hansi as an outpost against the Mughals between 702-3 A.H. See *P. A. S. B.* for 1877, p. 124, Inscription VI.

2 The text and a translation of the inscription were published in *E. I.*, Vol. II (p. 434), by Dr. P. Horn.

3 *Reports*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

4 For the history of Bayana see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XX, pp. 60-69.

'Abdu-l-Malik b. Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled Mughīthu-d-dīn. Baranī (Persian text, p. 353) gives the name of Qāzī Mughīthu-d-dīn in the list of divines and scholars who adorned the court of 'Alā'u-d-dīn. He writes about them as follows :—

در تمامی عصر علائی در دارالملك دهلی علمای بودند که آنچنان استادان که هر یکی علامهٔ وقت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفاهان و ری و روم و در ربع مسکون نباشند و در هر علمی که فرض کنند از منقولات و معقولات و تفسیر و فقه و اصول فقه و معقولات و اصول دین و نحو و لفظ و لغت و معانی و بدیع و بیان و کلام و منطق مو می شگافند - و هر سالی چندین طالبان علم از آن استادان سرآمده بدرجهٔ افادت میرسیدند و مستحق جوابدادن فتوی می شدند - و بعضی از آن استادان در فنون علم و کمالات علوم بدرجهٔ غزالی و رازی رسیده بودند - چنانکه قاضی فخرالدین ناقله و قاضی شرف الدین سرباهی و مولانا نصیرالدین غنی و مولانا تاج الدین مقدم و مولانا ظهیرالدین لنگ و قاضی مغیث الدین بیانه الخ

I read the inscription as given below :—

PLATE V (a).

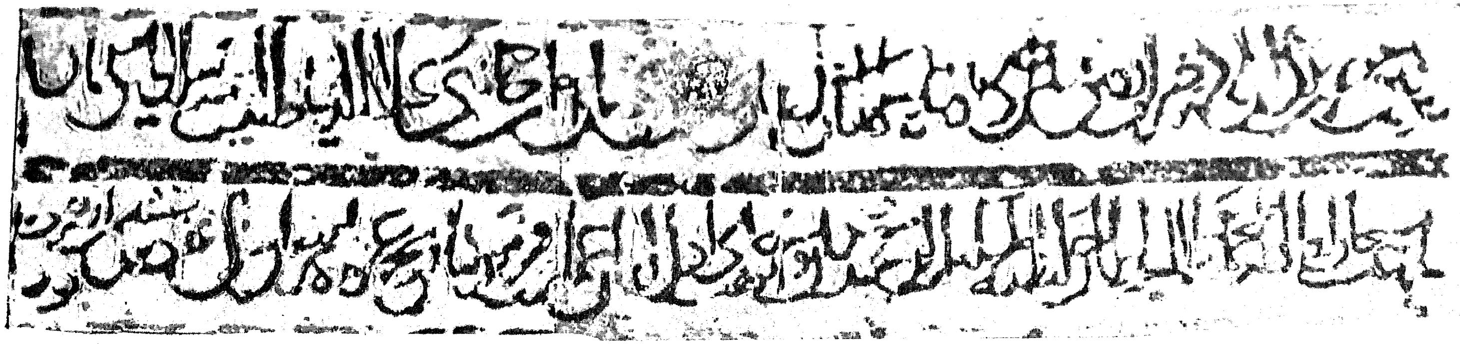
(1) قال النبي عليه السلام من بنى مسجداً لله تعالى و لو كمثل مفحص قطاة (2) بنى الله له بيتاً في الجنة بحكم هذا الخبر بنى و جدد عمارة هذا المسجد و البئر (3) بعد ما اندرستا وابدع بعد ما انطمستا في عهد سلطنت اعلى سلاطين العرب والعجم صاحب (4) التاج والخاتم ظل الله في العالم علا الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام (5) و المسلمين المس . . . . الى الله سكندر الثاني . . . اهل الايمان ابى المظفر محمد شاه السلطان (6) لا زالت اعلام دولته منصورة منشورة اضعف عباد الله الباري عبد الملك بن ابى بكر (7) البخاري الملقب بمغيث الدين . . . . تقبل الله منه في الغرة من المحرم سنه خمس و سبعمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

The Prophet—may peace be upon him !—has said : *Whoever buildeth a mosque for God even if it is (as small) as the nest of a sand-grouse, God buildeth a house for him in Paradise.* According to this saying of the Prophet, the buildings of this mosque and this well were constructed and repaired after they had decayed, and were renewed after they had fallen into ruins, in the reign of the most exalted among the Sulṭāns of Arabia and non-Arab countries, the lord of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, . . . towards God, the second Alexander . . . . of the Faithful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān—may the banners of his kingdom ever remain triumphant and unfurled !—by the humblest servant of God, the Creator, 'Abdu-l-Malik bin Abū Bakr al-Bukhārī, entitled Mughithu-d-Dīn . . . . may God cacept his prayer ! On the first of Muḥarram 705 A.H. (Saturday, 24th July, 1305 A.D.).

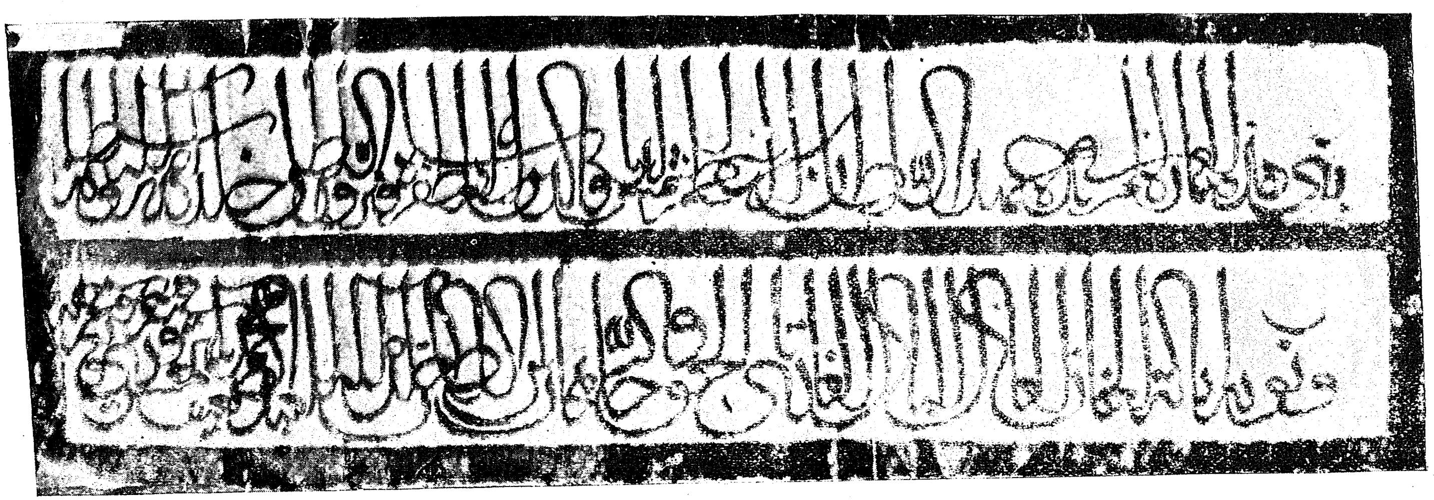
PLATE VI.

(*a*) Inscription in the Dini Masjid, Rohtak.



Scale ·142

(*b*) Firoz Shah Inscription of Bihar dated 709 A. H.



Scale ·125

XI.—Inscription in the Jāmi' Masjid at Alāpur (Budaun).

Alāpur (27° 55′ N., 79° 15′ E.) is a small town in the Dātāganj Tahsil of the Budaun District. According to a legend, it was founded by 'Alā'u-d-dīn 'Ālam Shāh (1445-1451 A.D.) of the Lodī dynasty, who, after his abdication of the throne of Delhi, stayed at Budaun for the rest of his life (d. 1478 A.D.). But the presence of this inscription, dated 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.), coupled with the fact that 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī was governor of Budaun before his accession to the throne, may induce one to surmise that Alāpur was named after that Sulṭān.

The inscription is fragmentary and it has been noticed in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLI, p. 112. The inscriptional tablet in its present condition measures 2′ 3½″ × 9″. The name of the builder unfortunately occurs just where the stone is broken and therefore cannot be deciphered; but his official designation—Dād Bek (Master of Justice)—is preserved. The style of writing is *Naskh* with an attempt at ornamentation.

I read the inscription as follows :—

PLATE V (b).

. . . ن . . . داد بك بخطة بداوُن في المنتصف من ربيع الاول سنه سبع و
سبعمائة ⊙

TRANSLATION.

. . . . . son of . . . . . Dād Bek (Master of Justice) in the province of Budaun. In the middle of Rabī' I, 707 A.H. (September, 1307 A.D.).

XII.—Inscription on the Dīnī Masjid at Rohtak.

Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Northern Circle, has been kind enough to furnish me with the following note on the Dīnī Masjid[1] :—

"The mosque is of early Pathan style and comprises a hall measuring 60′ × 22′ 3″ internally, and a courtyard 55′ × 45′ 3″. The hall is divided into three apartments and has a flat roof, which is supported on pillars of grey sandstone. The carvings on the pillars show Hindu workmanship and they may have originally belonged to an old temple. The inscription is engraved in two lines, on a grey stone slab (4′ 6″ × 1′ 2″) fixed over the central Mihrab of the mosque."

The inscriptional tablet is much worn out and some words are absolutely illegible: fortunately, however, the name of the king and the date are fairly distinct. Dr. P. Horn has published the text and a translation of the inscription; but they are defective in more than one place.[2]

The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language is Persian. I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE VI (a).

(1) بتوفيق حضرت يزدان . . . حامي ملت حجازي علا الدنيا و الدين . . .
سلاطين . . . (2) . . . ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه اين معبد
مومنان و نزهة جاى اهل ايمان عمارت فرمود بتاريخ غرة ماه رمضان سال هفصد و هشت
از هجرت بود ⊙

---

[1] The name *Dīnī* is somewhat unusual as all mosques are for religious worship. Dīnī may be a corruption of Ādīna.

[2] *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 436.

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of Almighty God, ... the defender of the faith of Ḥijāz, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn . . . . . . kings . . . . Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom !—this place of worship of the Faithful and the recreation place of the true believers was built. On the 1st of Ramaẓān 708 A.H. (Wednesday, 12th February, 1309 A.D.).

XIII.—Inscription of Firoz Shāh of Bengal, dated 709 A.H., from Bihar.

This inscription was *in situ* in the time of Blochmann, who noticed it on a lofty gateway which, together with an arched hall and a roofless mosque, formed the remains of what tradition called Haṭim Khān's palace.[1] Blochmann found the gateway in a dilapidated state and it apparently fell down shortly afterwards, but the inscriptional slab is still at Bihar, and through the kindness of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, I was furnished with a couple of very distinct rubbings of the inscription.

The epigraph is of importance from more points of view than one. To the students of history it may appeal as giving the information that King Firoz Shāh of Bengal, besides the four sons mentioned by Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 148), had another son, Ḥaṭim Khān, and that his kingdom included Bihar, which facts are not given in contemporary Persian histories. To the archæologist it may be of interest as keeping the permanent record of a building, which has been obliterated by the destroying hand of Time ; but it is of the greatest importance to the epigraphist for its exquisite style of writing. The script is a combination of the *Naskh* and *Ṭughra* styles, and the artist has shown great command in the drawing of vertical lines and curves which, although very precise and crisp, are free from conventional restrictions. This writing, when compared with the contemporary writings on the 'Alā'i Darwazāh at Delhi, discloses the fact that the keynote of Bengal style from the beginning was delicacy and refinement, while the aim of the Delhi art under the early Sulṭāns was strength and grandeur.

The tablet on which the inscription is carved measures 5′ × 1′ 8″. My reading of the text is given below :—

PLATE VI (b).

(1) بنى هذه العمارة المزيدة في عهد السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابي المظفر
فيروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه (2) و نوبة ايالة الخان العادل الباذل الغازي
تاج الحق و الدين حاتمخان ابن السلطان خلد ملكه العبد الضعيف محمد حسن بيكترروري
في شهور سنه تسع و سبعمائه

TRANSLATION.

This additional building was constructed during the reign of the great Sulṭān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Firoz Shāh, the Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority !—and during the governorship of the just and benevolent Khān, the warrior (for the sake of God), Taju-l-Ḥaqq[2] waddin Ḥātim Khān, son of the Sulṭān (Firoz Shāh)—may God ever keep his kingdom !—by the frail servant Muḥammad Ḥasan Bektrurī[3] in the months of the year 709 A.H. (1309 A.D.).

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[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 249.

[2] Blochmann could not read this title.

[3] Blochmann read نکرروري which is not convincing.

XIV-XXIII.—Inscriptions on the 'Alā'ī Darwazāh at Maihraulī (Quṭb), Delhi.

These inscriptions were edited for the first time by the late Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan in his well-known work, *Āthāru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd*, and subsequently their English translations were published in the *Archæology of Delhi* by Mr. Carr Stephen. Sir Sayed's readings, as usual, are accurate in the main and the slight mistakes, which have occurred, are probably due to the disadvantage which he had of deciphering them either from the stone direct, on which the letters being carved in relief are not easily legible, or from the tracings, which unfortunately were not prepared according to the scientific methods which have been introduced since his time.

The superb gateway, on which the inscriptions are carved, was built by 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī in 710 A.H. It is a fine specimen of Pathan architecture and, in the words of Fergusson, "displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection."[1] The gateway is in the south cloister of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's extension to the Mosque at Quṭb (Quwwatu-l-Islām) and was probably the city entrance of this religious edifice. Mr. Carr Stephen has given a detailed description of the gateway, which I give below :—

"The building is a square 34½ feet inside and 56½ feet outside, the walls being 11 feet thick; from the inner floor to the dome ceiling it is about 47 feet high. The mode in which the square plan of the building is changed into an octagon which supports the dome 'is more simply elegant and appropriate,' says Furgusson, 'than any other example I am acquainted with in India,' the corners are ornamented with a series of arched niches which cut off the angles of the square. On each side of the gateway there is a lofty door; but the doors in the eastern and western sides of the building are lower than those in its northern and southern sides. On the southern side the building has a plinth very nearly 10 feet high, with seven steps in the centre leading to it. The doorways are most elaborately ornamented; each door is formed by a pointed horse-shoe arch, of which the outer end is panelled; the inner edge, which goes a few inches deeper into the arch, is decorated with stone spear-heads; the arch springs from slender ornamented pillars with plain imposts. The outer face of the arch, as well as the inner arch, which is formed after a recess of four inches, and the rectangular bands which enclose the arched doorways bear inscriptions which in some places have been injured by time. The whole face of the building is elaborately ornamented with delicate chiselling, of which not the least attractive features are the bands of inscriptions. On each side of the doorway there are two windows about a third of its size, but of the same shape and style; these windows are covered with marble screens of lattice work; the off windows are a little smaller than the near ones and their lattice work is closer and finer. Above these windows, the wall is decorated with small ornamental false arches in panels which, from a distance, have the appearance of small windows in groups of fours, the two vertical of each group being enclosed in oblong marble bands. The rectangular bands of red sandstone and marble which enclose the arches of the windows and the small false arches above them, are covered with verses from the Quran and the Hadis of Muhammad artistically engraved. The spandrel, as usual, is a mass of fret work, wreaths and ornamental bosses in red sandstone. The upper portion of the southern face of the gateway was repaired by Major Smith, but no attempt was made to restore the stone ornaments. The interior walls of the gateway are profusely decorated with the most perfect specimens of elaborate carvings; the chequered pattern is simply elegant, or, as Fergusson calls it, 'of unrivalled excellence' The large dome is remarkably plain, Fergusson considers it 'by no means worthy of the substructure'; but its interior view is by no means disagreeable, its plainness notwithstanding; from outside, the dome looks rather low. The outer walls of the gateway were crowned with a battlemented parapet; that on the southern wall was removed during Major Smith's time."[2]

[1] *History of Indian Architecture* (revised edition), Vol. II, p. 210.

[2] *Archæology of Delhi*, pp. 54-57.

The style of writing of the inscriptions is in perfect harmony with the general style of the building, bold and vigorous in conception and most elegant in execution. The beautiful form of the letters, their large size (1′ 6″ in height) and fine arrangement, about which the poet Khusrau most appropriately remarked—"and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Ḳurán in such a manner as could not be done on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Ḳurán was going up to heaven, and again descending, in another line, so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven "[1]—all bear testimony to the fact that Pathan artistic genius at this period was at its zenith. The script is a *Naskh*, showing a tendency towards ornamentation which subsequently developed into the delicate and subtle *Ṭughra* characters.

The language is Persian; but it has a large admixture of Arabic phrases, so much so that in some sentences if a few words be eliminated, the language will become Arabic. In a previous article on the inscriptions of the early Sulṭāns of Delhi[2] I have remarked that, during their reign, Arabic was considered to be a more dignified language for mural writings than Persian, and, when the latter language was used, it was largely embellished with phrases of Arabic construction.

As regards the titles of 'Alā'u-d-dīn, whose name is commemorated in these inscriptions, Thomas has observed, " There are some incidents in 'Alá-ud-dín's story which more nearly concern these numismatic chronicles, such as his assumption of the title of the second Alexander, and a notion entertained of a new religion, of which he was to be the oracle, both of which items are testified to by the coins." 'Alā'u-d-dīn's instinctive desire for conquest may have led him to adopt the title of the second Alexander; but we find no indication of his ambition to found a new religion by the legends on his coins.[3] The fact of his having such aspirations has, of course, been recorded by Barani; but how Thomas could find it authenticated by his coins is a mystery The titles given in the inscriptions prove to the contrary the fact that he was a staunch Musalman, following the faith of Abu Ḥanīfa.

I read the inscriptions on the eastern doorway thus :—

PLATE VII.

On the right pier.

بناء این بقعه شریف و اساس این عمارت منیف بود در عهد سلطنت و ایام مملکت
خدایگان سلاطین جهان خسرو دارا نشان سلطا[ن کا]مل عدل [4] وافر احسان شهنشاه شامل توفیق [5]
نافذ فرمان معلي منابر اسلام محيي آثار احکام بني منابر مساجد طاعات رافع اساس معابد
عبادات عامر بلاد هدایت غامر دیار غوایت باهی بفرق علا و تاج سلطنت داهی با قصر اعتلاء و
کرسي مملکت مظهر قوانین جهاد مبرهن براهین اجتهاد ضابط بلاد جہا . .

On the left pier.

. . . لاطین رافع بناء محراب و منابر اسلام کاسر اساس صوامع اصنام ناصب قواعد خیرات
خاوض [6] حوانیت مسکرات بادشاه کشور کشای سایهٔ رحمت خدای موید بتائید یزدان

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[1] *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 69.
[2] *E. I. M.*, 1913-14, p. 14.
[3] *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, pp. 38-43.
[4] Sayed Ahmad has left out this word. *Āthār* (Cawnpore ed.), Appendix, p. 85.
[5] This word also has been omitted by Sayed Ahmad. *Idem*, p. 86.
[6] Sayed Ahmad read this word as حافظ.

ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه في عمارت المساجد
و ابد[1] سلطانه في انارة المعابد و ابقاه في المملكة و الخلافة مدي الدنيا ما تليت
سوره سبحان الذي اسری بعبده ليلا من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی ⊙ في التاريخ
في الخامس عشر من شوال سنه عشر و سبعماته[2] ⊙

On the outer arch.

بفرمان برگزيده حضرت رحمان ضابط ممالك جهان سلطان سليمان نشان علا الدنيا و الدين
غوث الاسلام و المسلمين معز الملوک و السلاطين قامع . . . قاضب رؤس . . و الملحدين
رافع اساس محراب و منبر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه الی يوم التناد[3] اين مسجد شامخ اركان راسخ بنيان عمارت كرده شد ⊙

On the inner arch.

اين مسجد جامع شامخ اركان[4] . . . . . . اصحاب دين . . . بفرمان برگزيده
حضرت رحمان سكندر العهد و الزمان علا الدنيا و الدين . . . . الواثق
. . . بالملك المنان ابو المظفر (محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة) مظهر العدل و الرافة
ناصر امير المومنين . . . . . علی الاسلام ⊙

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

The building of this noble edifice and the foundation of this lofty structure were in the reign and during the kingship of the Lord of the kings of the world, the monarch with Darius's insignia, the Sulṭān administering perfect justice and abounding in benevolence, the emperor blessed with Divine grace (lit., blessed with comprehensive grace) and full authority, the elevator of the pulpits of Islam, the reviver of the forgotten commandments (of God), the founder of pulpits in places of worship, the builder (lit., elevator) of the foundation of houses of adoration, the populator of the cities of righteousness, the destroyer of the towns of error, exulting in his aggrandizement and at the imperial crown, ingenious in the palace of glory and on the throne of the kingdom, expounder of the laws of the Holy War, the elucidator of the arguments of religious exposition, the governor of the countries of the world . .

Inscription on the left pier.

. . . . . . kings, the elevator of the foundations of the prayer niche and pulpits of Islam, the demolisher of the bases of idol-temples, the establisher of the rules of charity, the destroyer of wine taverns (lit., intoxicant-houses),[5] the world-conquering monarch, the shadow of Divine

[1] Sayed Ahmad's reading is ايد .

[2] The date has been left out by Sayed Ahmad.

[3] See *Qur'ān*, Chap. XL, verse 34.

[4] Sayed Ahmad has read these words as مسجد جامع سامع.

[5] This refers to 'Alā'u-d-dīn's ordinance against the use of wine and intoxicating drugs. *History of India* by H. Elliot, Vol. III, p. 180.

mercy, blessed (lit., helped) by the Divine assistance, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S͟hāh, Sulṭān, the right arm of K͟hilāfat (divine vicegerency), the ally (lit., helper) of the Prince of Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom (so that he may continue) to build mosques, preserve till eternity his sovereignty (so as to protect) the lustre of places of worship, and (God) keep him in sovereignty and K͟hilāfat to the end of the world, as long as this verse is r "*Praise be unto him, who transported his servant by night from the Masjidul-Ḥarām (Sa House at Mecca) to the Masjidu-l-Aqṣa (the temple of Jerusalem)* !"[1] On the 15th of S͟haw 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

By the order of the elect of the Lord Merciful, the governor of the empires of the world, Sulṭān with Solomon's insignia, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Musl the bestower of honour on kings and rulers, the destroyer . . . . the infidels, the elevator of the bases of the prayer-niche and the pulpit, Ab Muẓaffar Muḥammad S͟hāh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K͟hilāfat, the ally (helper) of the Pr of the Faithful (may God preserve his kingdom till the Day of Judgment !) this mosque with l pillars and strong foundation was built.

Inscription on the inner arch.

. . . . . . this assembly mosque (Jāmi' Masjid) with lofty pillars . . . . men of religion . . . . by the order of elect of the Lord Merciful, the Alexander of his time and period, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn . . . . confident in (the help) of the Benevolent Lord, Abu-l-Muẓaffar (Muḥa mad S͟hāh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K͟hilāfat), the manifester of justice and mercy, helper of the Prince of the Faithful, ... Islām.

I read the inscriptions on the southern door as given below :—

PLATE VIII.

On the right pier.

بتوفيق ايزد بى همتا و معبود بى ا ثال منشي [2] لمسجد اسس على
لتقوى تعالى امره و شانه و توالى عدله و احسانه برمقضي خير مامور امر فول
جهك شطر المسجد الحرام محمد رسول الله عليه السلام كما قال من بنى مسجدا لله بنى
لله له بيتا في الجنة مجلس اعلى خدايگان سلاطين زمان شهنشاه موسى فر سليمان امكان[3]
اعي شرايط شريعت محمدي و حامي مراسم ملت احمدي موكد منابر معالم و مساجد و
وطد قواعد مدارس و معابد ممهد بنيان رسوم مسلماني و موسس مباني مذهب نعماني
لع اصول مرده فجار و قاطع فروع قيده كفار و هادم بناء صوامع اصنام رافع اساس
جامع اسلام مظهر آياه

[1] *Qur'ān*, Chap. XVII, verse 1.

[2] Sayed Ahmad read these words as و معاونت منشي نثرا مثال.

[3] The الف of امكان is clear in the inscription, but Sayed Ahmad has read the word as مكان.

On the left pier.

قاهر كفرهٔ شرق و صين [1] قامع فجرهٔ روی زمين فاتح قلاع شامخ اركان [2] ضابط بقاع راسخ
بنيان المعتصم . . . . . الله المنان ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة مبين
دين الله ناصر امير المومنين مد الله ظلال جلاله على روس العالمين الى يوم الدين بنا فرمود
اين مسجد كی [3] مسجد جباه زمرهٔ اوليا و ملثم شفاه طايفه اتقيا مجمع ملائك
كرام و محضر ارواح انبيا عظام است بتاريخ في الخامس عشر من شوال سنه عشر و سبعمائة ⊙

On the outer arch.

اين مسجد كی در فسحت و رفعت چون بيت المقدس مشهور بلده ثاني بيت المعمور
است حضرت اعلى خدايگان فايض فضل شامل احسان المويد بتائيد الملك المنان علا الدنيا
و الدين الظفر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين مد الله ظلال
عظمته الى يوم الدين بصدق نيت و خلوص عقيدت بنا فرمود ⊙

On the inner arch.

در عهد همايون حضرت عليا خدايگان . . . . . . (علا) الدنيا و الدين الغالب [4]
بالجنود الظفر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين مد الله ظلال
خلافته على روس العالمين الى يوم الدين اين مسجد كی بوصف و من دخله كان آمنا
موصوف است ⊙

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

By the grace of the peerless God and the matchless Deity, the Writer (of the words), "*There is a mosque founded on piety*,"[5] Whose authority and power is supreme, and Whose justice and bounty is continuous, and according to the enactment of the one who was the best person to receive the command, "*Turn thy face to the Masjidu-l-Ḥarām* (*Ka'ba*),"[6] Muḥammad, the apostle of God, may peace be upon him!, who has said, "*whoever buildeth a mosque for God, God buildeth a house for him in Paradise*," (he of) the exalted presence, the lord of the kings of his time, the emperor, majestic as Moses and powerful as Solomon, the protector of the rulings of Muhammadan law, the upholder of the ceremonies of Ahmad's[7] faith, the strengthener of the pulpits of religious institutions and mosques, the confirmer of the rules of colleges and places of worship, the extender of the foundation of Islamic customs, the strengthener of the base of Nu'mān's (Abū Hanifa) faith, the destroyer of the existence (lit., roots) of insolent sinners, the pruner of the branches of the leaders of infidels, the demolisher of the foundations of idol-temples, the builder (lit., elevator) of the bases of Islamic institutions, the manifestation of (Qur'ānic) verses,

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1 Sayed Ahmad has read روءف متين .

2 *Athār* contains the reading سامع امكان.

3 كه has been spelt كی in the Quṭb Minar inscriptions as well. *E. I. M.*, 1911-12, p. 13.

4 Sayed Ahmad's reading is العالي .

5 *Qur'ān*, Chap. IX, verse 109.

6 *Idem*, Chap. II, verse 139.

7 A name of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Inscription on the left pier.

the subjugator of the infidels of the East and China, the subduer of evil-doers on the face of the earth, the conqueror of forts with lofty columns, the governor of places with strong defences (lit., foundations), relying on . . . . of the benevolent God, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K̲h̲ilāfat, the expounder of the Divine faith, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God increase the shade of his majesty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment; (he) built this mosque, which is the shrine blessed by the group of saints, the kissing place (place of worship) sanctified by men of piety, the meeting place of the great angels, and the assembly room for the souls of the chief prophets. On the 15th S̲h̲awwāl 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

This mosque, which in spaciousness and height is as well known as the Baitu-l-Muqaddas (Holy temple at Jerusalem), or rather it is a second Baitu-l-Mā'mūr,[1] was built with a pure motive and in sincere faith by His Exalted Majesty, the lord with diffusing grace and comprehensive bounty, blessed by the help of the Bountiful Lord, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīni-ẕ-ẕafr, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K̲h̲ilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God prolong the shade of his majesty to the Day of Judgment.

Inscription on the inner arch.

In the auspicious reign of His Exalted Majesty, the lord . . . . 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the conqueror through his victorious army, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K̲h̲ilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God spread the shade of his sovereignty over the head of all creation till the Day of Judgment, this mosque, which has the quality (referred to in the verse) "*Whoever entereth it is blessed with safety*"[2] (was built).

I read the inscriptions on the western door as given below :—

PLATE IX.

Inscription on the right pier.

چون ایزد تعالی علا علاؤه و سمی اسماؤه برای احیای مراسم ملت و اعلاء معالم شریعت
خدایگان خلفاء[3] جهانرا برگزیده تا هر لمحه اساس دین محمدي استحکام مي پذیره و هر
لحظه بناء شریعت احمدي قوي مي گردد از برای دوام مملکت و نظام سلطنت عمارت
مساجد طاعات بحکم کلام من لا رب سواه کی انما یعمر مساجد الله من آمن
با (لله)[4]

Inscription on the left pier.

[5] . . . . المظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمین الخلافة ناصر امیر المومنین
خلد الله ملکه الی یوم القیام في رفع بناء جوامع الاسلام و ابقاه مدي الزمان
فی اشاعة الاحسان[6] في التاریخ في الخامس عشر من شوال سنه عشر و سبعمائه ⊙

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[1] The heavenly prototype of Ka'ba.

[2] *Qur'ān*, Chap. III, verse 91.

[3] This word has been left out in Sayed Ahmad's reading.

[4] The stone is broken after these words.

[5] The stone is broken here.

[6] Sayed Ahmad read this word as الاسلام

Inscription on the outer arch.

حضرت عليا خدايگان سلاطين مصطفى جاه الضارع لامر الله المخصوص بعناية الاكرم
الاكرمين علا الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام و المسلين مغيث[1] الملوک و السلاطين القايم
بتائيد الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان سكندر ثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المومنين
خلد الله ملكه بناء اين خيرات سنت و جماعت اسس عمارت فرمود ⊙

Inscription on the inner arch.

اين كى ثانيِ بيت المعمور و در افواه چون جنان مذكور است بخلوص
عقيدت و صفا[2] طويت مجلس اعلى خدايگان سلاطين زمان علاء الدنيا و الدين سلطان
البر و الاحسان المؤيد بتائيد الرحمان ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان يمين الخلافة ناصر
امير المومنين . . . . عظمته[3] الى يوم الدين ⊙

TRANSLATIONS.

Inscription on the right pier.

When God Almighty, whose greatness is sublime and whose names are exalted, to revive the ceremonies of the (Islamic) faith and to raise the banners of the (Muhammadan) law, selected the lord of the caliphs of the world, so that the foundation of Muhammadan religion might get strength every moment, and the base of the law of Ahmad might be consolidated every minute (lit., in the twinkling of an eye), he (the elect of God), to perpetuate his kingdom and to regulate his government, erected mosques for worship in accordance with the command of Him beside whom there is no God : *But he only shall visit the mosques who believes in God.*[4] . . . . .

Inscription on the left pier.

. . . . Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God preserve his kingdom till the day of Resurrection to elevate the institutions of Islam, and keep him till the end of the world to spread benevolence ! On the 15th Shawwal 710 A.H. (Sunday, 7th March, 1310 A.D.).

Inscription on the outer arch.

His exalted majesty, the lord of kings, glorious like Muṣṭafa (Muḥammad), submissive to the command of God, distinguished by the grace of the Most Bountiful Lord, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of al-Islam and the Muslims, the redresser of kings and rulers, confirmed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad Shāh, the Sulṭān, the second Alexander, the right arm of Khilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom !, built this auspicious (house, which is the place of worship) of Sunnat u Jamā'at.[5]

[1] Sayed Ahmad's reading is معز.

[2] Sayed Ahmad read this word as قضا.

[3] Sayed Ahmad's reading is ملكه.

[4] *Qur'ān*, Chap. IX, verse 18.

[5] *Sunnat u Jamā'at*, adherents of the first four Caliphs, in opposition to Shī'a, the followers of 'Alī.

Inscription on the inner arch.

This (building), which is a second Bait-i-Mā'mūr, and reported to be like paradise, (was built) with sincere faith and pure motive by His Exalted Presence, the lord of the kings of his time, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the benevolent and generous Sulṭān, blessed by the help of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, the Sulṭān, the right arm of K̲h̲ilāfat, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful . . . . his glory till the Day of Judgment !

XXIV.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn K̲h̲aljī in the 'Īdāgh at Rāprī (Mainpurī District).

Rāprī (26° 58′ N. and 78° 36′ E.) is a village in the S̲h̲ikohābad Tahsīl of the Mainpurī District. It was a prosperous town under the Musalman rulers and is often referred to in contemporary history. The present inscription is the earliest Muslim record at the place, but Rāprī seems to have come under the rule of the Sulṭāns of Delhi a century earlier, for S̲h̲ihābu-d-dīn's army defeated Jai Chand at Chandwar, a little to the north of Rāprī, in 1194.

The inscriptional tablet (5′ × 2′) is set over the central Mihrab of an old 'Īdgāh,[1] the architecture of which has been fully discussed by Cunningham in *A. S. R.* (Vol. IV, pp. 217-21). The style of writing is typical of the script of the period, a bold, vigorous hand, in this case without any ornamental flourish. The inscription is written in four lines in the Persian language.

The chief features of the record are the names of 'Ala'u-d-dīn and of his illustrious General, Malik Kāfūr, who in the year (711 A.H.), referred to in the inscription, returned to Delhi after his conquest of Southern India.[2] As Rāprī at this time formed the fief of Malik Kāfūr,[3] so the 'Īdgāh on which the inscription is carved may have been erected to commemorate the triumphant return of the General.

I read the inscription as follows :[4]—

PLATE X (a).

(1) بنا این بقعه شریف بتوفیق یزدانی و تائید سبحانی و بفضل ربانی درعهد خلافت
سکندر الثانی (2) علا الدنیا و الدین المخصوص بعنایت رب العالمین ابوالمظفر محمد شاه
السلطان (3) ناصر امیرالمومنین و نوبت ایالت بنده کمتر خدائگانی کافور سلطانی تقبل الله
منهم (4) واحسن الله جزائهم في المنتصف من شهر المبارك رمضان عظم الله حرمته سنه احدی
عشر و سبعمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

By the grace of God, the assistance of the Almighty and the bounty of the Lord, this sacred house was built in the reign of the second Alexander, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, who is distinguished by the favour of the Lord of the worlds, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, the Sulṭān, the helper of the Prince of the Faithful, and during the administration of the humble servant of his Majesty, Kāfūr, the Royal slave: may God accept their (Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's and Kāfūr's) prayers, and may God grant them a handsome reward ! In the middle of the auspicious month of Ramaẓān—may God increase its honour !—in the year 711 A.H. (January, 1312 A.D.).

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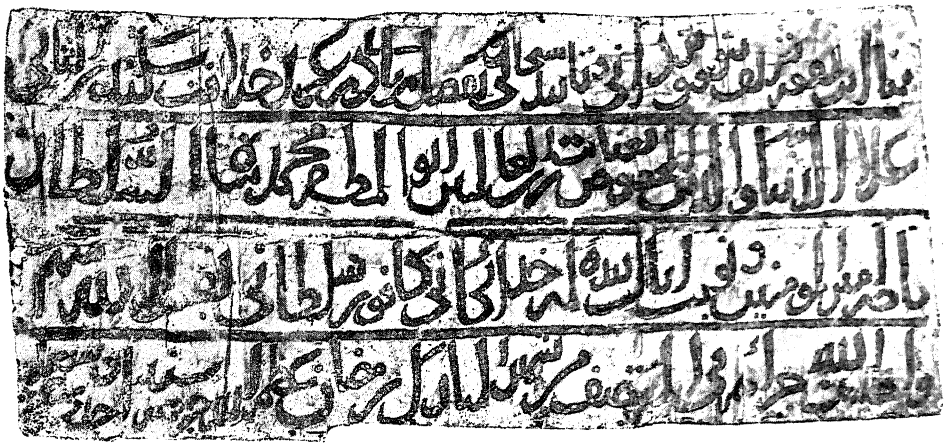
[1] It is situated at a distance of a mile and a half north-east of Rāprī.

[2] *Briggs*, Vol. I, pp. 374-75.

[3] *Baranī* (Bibl. Ind.), p. 328.

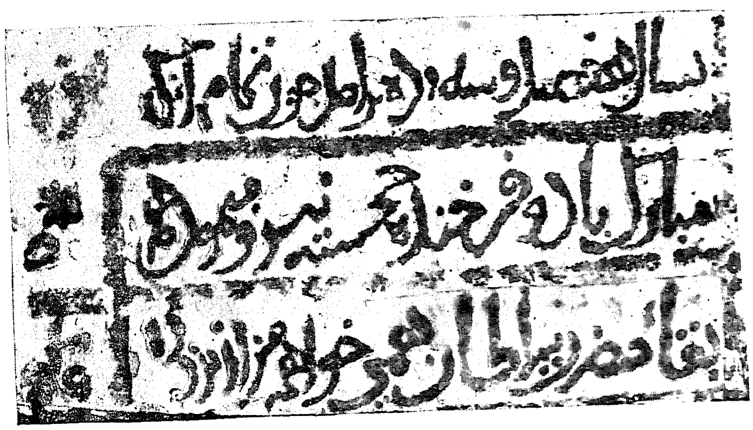
[4] The inscription is noticed in *P. A. S. B.* (August, 1873), *A. S. R.* (Vol. IV), and *Gazetteer*, N. W. P., Vol. IV (ed. 1876).

(*a*) Inscription in the 'Idgah at Rapri (Mainpuri, U.P.).



Scale ·08

(*b*) Inscription in Shah Wilayat's tomb, Hansi.



Scale ·14

(*c*) Inscription in a tomb, west of Shah Jalalu-l-Haq's shrine, Pirzadon-ka-Muhalla, Panipat.



Scale ·142

XXV.—Inscription on Shāh Wilāyat's Tomb at Hansi, dated 713 A.H.

The tomb of Shāh Wilāyat is situated about a quarter of a mile north of the Fort of Hansi. It consists only of a small platform measuring 8′ in length and 6′ in breadth, and rising to a height of 4′ above ground. The inscriptional tablet is fixed to the north side of the platform and measures 2′ 2″ × 1′ 2″.

The inscription, although it is referred to in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (p. 432), and Rodgers' *List* (p. 69), is being published now, for the first time. It is a fragmentary record, only the right half of it being preserved. The left half has been destroyed on account of the breaking of the inscriptional tablet. The letters of the preserved portion are distinct and written in *Naskh* style. The language of the inscription is Persian and it is composed in verse, the metre being *Hazaj*. I have deciphered the inscription as follows :—

PLATE X (b).

(1) بسال هفصد و سه و ده برآمد چون تمام انکه * . . . .

(2) مبارک باد و فرخنده خجسته نیز و میمون هم * . . . .

(3) بقاء حضرت سلطان همي خواهم من از یزدان[1] * . . . .

TRANSLATION.

1. In the year 713 (A.H.), when the whole of it was built . . . .
2. May it be happy and felicitous, and also lucky and auspicious. . . . .
3. I pray to Almighty God for the long life of the Sulṭān[2] . . . .

XXVI.—Inscription in the Ambīya Wālī Mosque, Fatehpūr Sīkrī.

The old town of Sīkrī is mentioned by Muslim writers for the first time in connection with the conquest of India by Bābur, who, in the vicinity of the town, defeated the Rajput confederacy in 1527. But it must have come under Muslim influence several centuries earlier than that, for the style of the ruins at the place, the presence of two inscriptions of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī,[3] and the close proximity of the town to Bayana, which was a Musalman Fortress from the earliest time of their conquest of India, all lead to such a conclusion.

The building on which the inscription is set is called the Ambīya Walī Mosque (Prophets' Mosque) and is situated at Nagar, a suburb of Fatehpūr. It is a small structure of red sandstone, built in the Pathan style, and consists of a hall measuring 35′ × 17′ and a courtyard 33′ × 14′. The hall, by insertion of pillars, some of which are carved and the others plain, is divided into two aisles and has five openings towards the east. The inscription is carved on three pieces of grey sandstone, which are fixed into the east wall of the courtyard of the mosque. The size of the three pieces together is 7′ 10″ × 1′. The style of writing is bold and vigorous, typical of the script in vogue for inscriptions at Delhi and other important towns at the time. The letters have been abraded by the effects of the weather in some places; but I have been able to decipher it almost completely. The language is Persian.

[1] The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

[2] The inscription, as its contents show, has no connection with the grave of Shāh Wilāyat. It belonged to some other building, at the demolition of which people seem to have removed the inscription here—the shrine of a saint being considered a safe place for such stones.

[3] One of these two inscriptions is the present epigraph. Of the other inscription I have not been able to obtain a facsimile, but the reading of a portion of it is given in the *Āthār-i-Akbarī*, p. 190 (ed. Agra, 1324 H.).

PLATE XI (a).

(1) تمام شد این عمارت مسجد درعهد خلافت بادشاه جهان خسرو زمان ناصر
زمره مظلوم منتصف . . . رعموم علاءالدنیا و الدین مغیث الاسلام و المسلمین (2) القایم
بحجة الله الداعي الی محجة الله المخصوص بعنایت الرحمان ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان
خلدت خلافته بتاریخ روز چهارشنبه دوازدهم ماه شوال سنه ثلث عشر و سبعمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the king of the world, the lord of the age, the protector of the oppressed, the administrator of justice . . . . . (in favour of) common people, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn, the redresser of Islām and the Muslims, who is abiding by the Divine argument, calling (people) to the path of God, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad S͟hāh, the Sulṭān, may his kingship be preserved till eternity !—on Wednesday, the 12th of Shawwal 713 A.H. (30th January, 1314 A.D.).

XXVII.—Arabic inscription in the Shrine of Arjun S͟hāh at Petlād (Baroda State).

Two inscriptions of this shrine were published by me in the last number of this Journal (1915-16, pp. 15-18) and the present epigraph is the third and last of the set there. This record is interesting from a historical point of view, as it clears up the confusion caused by some Persian historians ('Alī Muḥammad K͟hān, author of the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, and Firis͟hta) regarding the exact name of the governor, who administered the province of Gujarat, after its conquest by Ulug͟h K͟hān in the reign of 'Alā'u-d-dīn.[1] Among the four chief nobles of the court of the latter king one was Ulug͟h K͟hān, the brother of the Sulṭān, and another his wife's brother, Malik Sanjar, to whom the king had given the title of Alp K͟hān. Historians are unanimous that, shortly after 'Alā'u-d-dīn's accession to the throne, Ulug͟h K͟hān was deputed to march against Gujarat, which he conquered completely. Afterwards he returned to Delhi and received the fief of Bayana, which he held till he was ordered by the king to the Fort of Ranthambor. Ulug͟h K͟hān was put in charge of the Fort and all its territories and appurtenances after its conquest in 700 A.H. He fell sick there within six months and died on his way to Delhi, whither his body was conveyed for burial.[2]

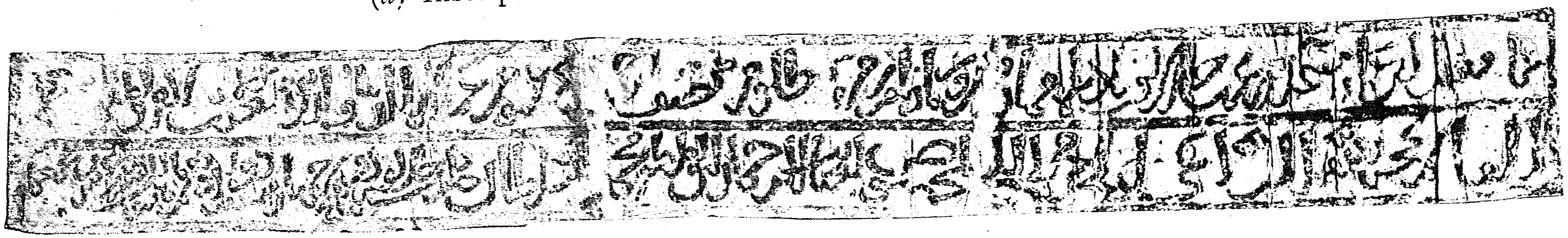
Alp K͟hān, the king's brother-in-law, seems to have gone to Gujarat as Governor shortly after the conquest of the province. He administered Gujarat on behalf of 'Alā'u-d-dīn for nearly twenty years, till 715 A.H., when he was recalled to the capital and, owing to an accusation arising out of the enmity of Malik Kāfūr, who was then the *Wazīr*, he was put to death without any just cause.[3] Firis͟hta and 'Alī Muḥammad K͟hān confuse Alp K͟hān with Ulug͟h K͟hān and write that the latter carried on the government of Gujarat for twenty years after its conquest in 697 A.H.,[4] which is impossible in view of the fact that Ulug͟h K͟hān, as noticed above, died in 701 A.H. Ẓia Baranī distinguishes between Ulug͟h K͟hān and Alp K͟hān and, according

[1] Amīr K͟husrau places this event in 698 A.H. and 'Alī Muḥammad K͟hān in 696, but Firis͟hta and Ẓia Baranī describe the conquest in 697 A.H. which is pretty certainly the correct date. *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 74, *Briggs*, Vol. I, pp. 327-29, and *Bayley*, pp. 37-38 *n.*

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 179, and *Bayley*, p. 39 *n.*

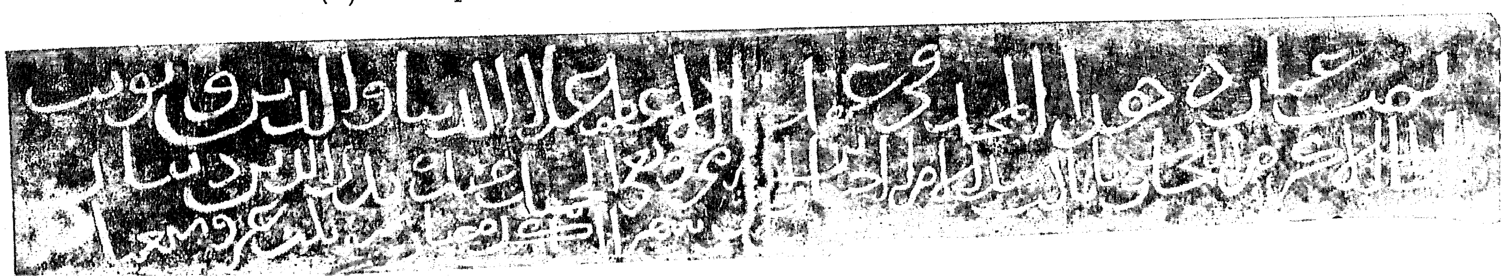
[3] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208, and *Bayley*, p. 39.

[4] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208 *n.*, and *Bayley*, p. 39.



(*a*) Inscription in the Anbiya Wali Mosque, Fathpur, Sikri.

Scale ·09



(*b*) Inscription in Arjun Shah's shrine, Petlad (Baroda State).

Scale ·11

to him, it was the latter who, in 715 A.H., was called from Gujarat and slain at the instance of Malik Kāfūr.[1] The present inscription, which is dated 713 A.H., supports the statement of Baranī and shows that Alp Khān and not Ulugh Khān was the Governor of Gujarat.

The inscription, besides the name of Alp Khān, mentions the names of two other nobles of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's time—Ikhtīyāru-d-dīn and Badru-d-dīn Dīnar. Ikhtīyāru-d-dīn may be identified with the officer bearing this title in the Cambay inscription (*infra*, p. 38). He held the office of the Commander of the Sea and died in 1316 A.D. Badru-d-dīn Dīnar is probably the Malik Dīnār referred to in the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī* as father of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's wife, who was honoured with the title of Ẓafar Khān and was sent as *Nāẓim* to Gujarat.[2] He was later recalled by the king and put to death without sufficient cause.[3]

The inscription, which records the erection of a *masjid*, is incised on a slab of sandstone (6′ × 1′) placed on the floor along the west wall of Arjun Shāh's shrine.[4] The style of writing is *Naskh*, but the letters are rather crude in execution. The language is Arabic and my reading of the text is given below :—

PLATE XI (b).

(1) تمت عمارة هذا المسجد في عهد (سلطان) الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين و نوبت

(2) الخان الاكرم الپخان و بايالت سيدالامرا اختيار الدين . . . وسعي الجميل عبده بدرالدين

دينار (3) . . . . من شهر المبارك رمضان سنه ثلث عشر و سبعمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

The building of this mosque was completed during the reign of the great Sulṭān, 'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn and the administration of the most benevolent Khān, Alp Khān, and the governorship of the chief of the nobles Ikhtīyāru-d-dīn . . . , through the commendable efforts of his (?) servant, Badru-d-dīn Dīnar . . . . auspicious month of Ramaẓān 713 A.H. (December, 1313 A.D.).

XXVIII.—Inscription of Fīroz Shāh of Bengal in Ẓafar Khān's tomb at Tribenī, dated 713 A.H.

This inscription marks a further step towards the development of the *Ṭughra* style of Bengal, which is characterized by intricacy of design and elegance of execution. The shape of the letters in the present case has not been much changed for the sake of ornamentation, and is extremely neat and crisp. The inscription is carved on two long basalt tablets (each measuring 6′ 3″ × 10″) imbedded in the northern side of Ẓafar Khān's tomb.

Apart from its fine style of writing the epigraph is interesting, as it mentions the names of the king, Fīroz Shāh of Bengal (1302-18) and of his deputy Ẓafar Khān with their full titles, which are not to be found on coins, or in contemporary history. The inscription also records the erection of a school; but, as a building of this nature was already in existence, founded in

[1] *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 208.
[2] *Bayley*, p. 40.
[3] During the rebellion of Ākat Khān, Malik Dīnar showed great courage in guarding the Royal harem. *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 173.
[4] For a description of the shrine see *E. I. M.*, 1915-16, p. 15.

697 A.H., during the reign of Kaikā'ūs (*ante*, p. 13), it appears that the old school building was only rebuilt or extended in Fīroz Shāh's time.

The inscription was published by Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.* (Vol. XXXIX (1873), pp. 287-88) and I differ from him only on minor points regarding the decipherment of the text.[1] I have read the inscription as follows :—

PLATE XII (a).

(1) الحمد لولي الحمد ⊙ بنيت هذه المدرسة المسماة دار الخيرات في عهد سلطنة
والي المبراة صاحب التاج و الخاتم ظل الله في العالم المكرم الاكرم[2] الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم
شمس الدنيا والدين المخصوص بعناية رب العالمين وارث ملك سليمان ابي[3] المظفر فيروز شاه
السطان خلد الله سلطانه (2) بامر الخان الاجل الكريم المبجل الجزيل العطا الجميل الثنا
نصير الاسلام ظهير الانام شهاب الحق والدين معين الملوك والسلاطين مربي ارباب اليقين
خانجهان[4] ظفر خان اظفره الله باعدائه[5] وعطفه على اوليائه[6] في غرة المحرم المضاف الى
سنة ثلث عشرة و سبعمائة ⊙

TRANSLATION.

Praise be to Him to whom praise is due ! This school, which is called Dāru-l-Khairāt (House of Benevolence), was built during the reign of the lord of beneficence, the master of the crown and the seal, the shadow of God in the world, the benevolent, the generous, the great, the lord of the necks of nations, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn, who is distinguished by the grace of the Lord of the universe, the heir of the kingdom of Sulaimān (Solomon), Abu-l-Muzaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his authority !—by the order of the great Khān, the liberal, the exalted, who is generous in gifts and worthy of (lit., beautiful in) praise, the supporter of Islām and the helper of mankind, Shihābu-l-Ḥaqq waddīn, the aider of kings and monarchs, the patron of *believers*, Khān-i-Jahān (Khān of the world), Ẓafar Khān, may God make him victorious over his enemies and make him kind to his friends ! On the 1st of Muḥarram, 713 A.H. (Saturday, 28th April, 1313).

XXIX.—Inscription of Shamsu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh of Bengal, dated 715 A.H., preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Blochmann found the basalt tablet (3′ 6″ × 1′) bearing this inscription, leaning against the wall of the Chhota Dargāh in Bihar.[7] It has since been removed from there and is now preserved at the Indian Museum, Calcutta. This is the latest inscription of Shamsu-d-dīn Fīroz Shāh, dated 715 A.H. (1315 A.D.), and, besides his name, contains the name of his son

[1] Text of the inscription is also reproduced in *J. R. A. S.* (Vol. VI, N. S., p. 373).

[2] *J. A. S. B.* (XXXIX, p. 287) contains the reading الاكرام which is incorrect.

[3] ابي is clear in the inscription, which is grammatically correct. I do not understand how Blochmann read ابا and then pointed out that the word was grammatically incorrect.

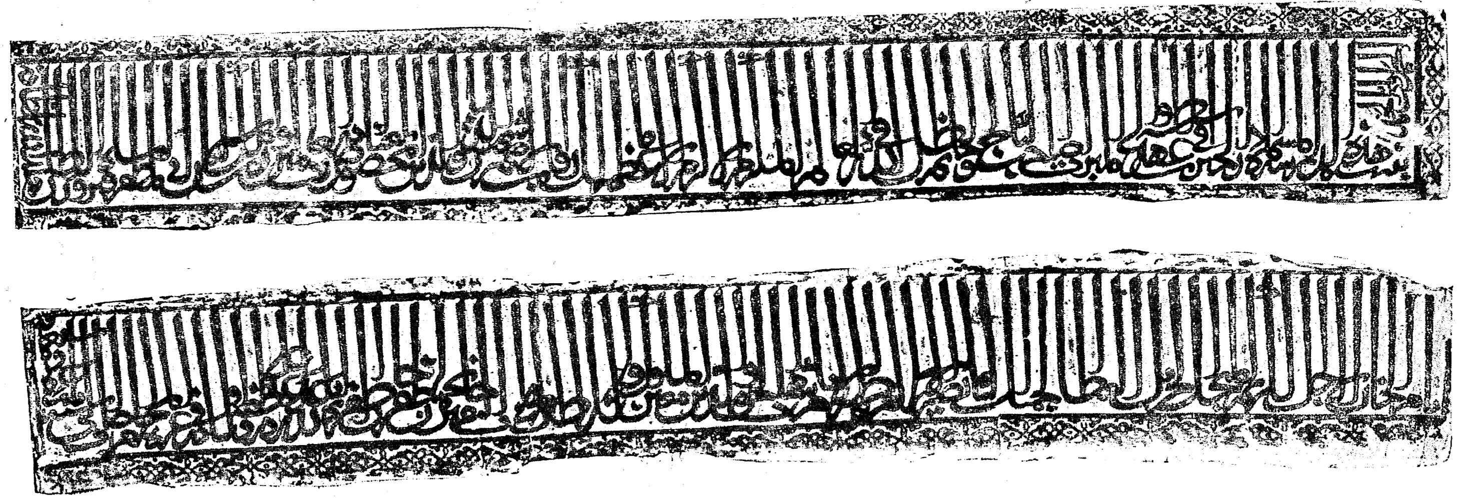
[4] Blochmann's reading is خان محمد.

[5] The reading على اعدائه is not supported by the facsimile.

[6] This phrase has not been correctly deciphered by Blochmann.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

(*a*) Inscription in Zafar Khan's tomb (north side), Tribeni.



Scale ·1

(*b*) Firoz Shah inscription dated 715 A. H., Indian Museum, Calcutta.



Scale ·2

Ḥātim Khān,[1] who is mentioned as the Governor of the place (Biḥar). The style of writing is similar to that of the other inscription of Fīroz Shāh from Bihar (*ante*, p. 22), and, although the latter epigraph is six years earlier than the present inscription, both of them seem to have been designed by the same artist. (Pls. VI *b* and XII *b*.)

The inscription records the erection of a mosque by one Bahrām b. Hājī. The language is Arabic.

I have read the inscription as follows :[2]—

PLATE XII (b).

(1) بني هذه المسجد في نوبة السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابي المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان و ايام امارة خاقان الزمان[3] المخاطب بحاتمخان (2) ادام الله ظلالهما العبد الواثق بالله و لكرمه الراجي احقر الخلايق بهرام ابن حاجي تاب الله عليه و غفر لوالديه في الغره من رجب سنه خمس و عشرة و سبعمائه ⊙

TRANSLATION.

This mosque was built in the reign of the great Sulṭān, Shamsu-d-dunya waddīn Abu-l-Muẓaffar Fīroz Shāh, the Sulṭān, and during the administration of the king (Khāqan) of the world, known as Ḥātim Khān—may God cause their shadows to last !—by the slave who is confident in God and soliciting His mercy, the lowliest of mankind, Bahrām, son of Ḥājī, may God forgive him and may He pardon his parents ! On the first of Rajab, 715 A.H. (1st October, 1315).

XXX.—Inscription of Maḥmūd Shāh from Hansi, dated 815 A.H.

In the town of Hansi, adjoining the shrine of Shaikh Jalālu-l-Ḥaqq,[4] there is a building in the lower part of which the present inscription is engraved on a tablet measuring 2′ 9″ × 1′ 4″. It is a Persian record, composed in verse and consisting of three lines.[5] The metre is *Muẓāri‘*.

The style of writing is plain *Naskh* and where the stone has not decayed the letters are quite distinct.

The inscription records the building of an enclosure by one Malik Isḥāq in 815 A.H., who seems to have been an unimportant person, because his name does not occur in contemporary history. The other name mentioned in the inscription is that of Maḥmūd Shāh (1392-1412 A.D.), who has been praised for his benevolence and justice.

[1] For information regarding this prince see *ante*, p. 22.

[2] The text and a translation of the inscription are published in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XLII, p. 250, and *E. I.*, Vol. II, p. 291.

[3] This title shows that Ḥātim Khān at the time of the inscription seems to have acquired great authority. In the other inscription (*ante*, p. 22) he is styled only "the just and liberal Khān."

[4] For the history of Shāh Jalāl see *Khazīnatu-l-Aṣfiyā* (Nawal Kishore lithograph, pp. 361-65).

[5] In the introduction (p. 9) I have stated, as previous scholars had written, that the phrase—*Duwum māhi Muḥarramo roz Jum‘ā*—like the well-known chronogram of Bābur's birth, gives the Hijra year. But on a closer examination of the inscription I have found that the word—*roz*—the numerical value of which has been included in calculating the date, does not exist on the stone. Further, the date given in hemistich 1 of line 3 is 815, and not 715, as deciphered by previous scholars. The inscription belongs to the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh II (1392-1412 A.D.), and it has no connection with the epigraphs of Khaljī Sulṭāns.

I have read the inscription as follows [1] :—

PLATE X (c).

(1) باني اين حظيره بتوفيق كردگار   مير معظم آن ملك اسحاق لشكري

(2) در عهد شاه باذل محمودشه كه او   ممتاز جود گشته دگر عدل گستري

(3) تاريخ بود پانزده وهشتصد(؟) از . . .   دوم مه محرم و جمعه چو بنگري

TRANSLATION.

(1) By the grace of God, the builder of this enclosure is the exalted Mīr, Malik Isḥāq Lashkarī.

(2) In the reign of the benevolent king, Maḥmūd Shāh, who is distinguished for generosity and justice.

(3) The date, if thou wouldst calculate, was 815 A.H., the 2nd of Muḥarram, Friday (15th April, 1412 A.D.).

XXXI.—Inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn Khaljī from Rāprī (Mainpurī District).

An estampage of this inscription was found in the collection of rubbings in the Office of the Director-General of Archæology in India, and, on my making inquiries about the provenance of the epigraph, Mr. Zafar Hasan, Assistant Superintendent of Archæology, Delhi, has been kind enough to furnish me with the information that the inscriptional tablet is now placed in a small modern mosque at Rāprī, near the house of Saim Khān Nambardār of the village; but it originally belonged to the Jāmi' Masjid of Rāprī, which is now in complete ruins.[2]

The inscription, which is fragmentary, mentions the name of 'Alā'u-d-dīn and refers to the religious wars, which he waged against the infidels.[3] It is in Persian verse, being arranged in four lines on a stone tablet, only the middle portion of which now survives, the right and left portions having broken away. The incomplete verses, which remain, are not continuous and unfortunately the date portion is missing.

The style of writing is *Naskh*. I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XIV (a).

* * * * *

كه شاد شد ز غزاهاش روح پيغامبر

علاء دنيا و دين . . . .

* * * * *

[1] The text of the inscription is published in Rodgers' *List*, p. 60.

[2] The remains of the central dome and two arches still exist. The prayer hall measures 52′ 6″ × 15′ 9″ and the courtyard 52′ 6″ × 28′. The ruins of the mosque are at a short distance from Rāprī to the west of the village.

[3] There is another inscription of 'Alā'u-d-dīn at Rāprī (*ante*, p. 30).

(*a*) Inscription originally in the Jami' Masjid at Rapri (Mainpuri, U. P.).



Scale ·166

(*b*) Inscription in a mosque in Dakhni Tola, Bhuili (Mirzapur).



• که چتر بر سر او هست سایه بان اله

زهجرت نبی از سال بوده . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

... باد تا ابد از فضل حق دوام بملک (؟)

بسعی خاصه یزدان سنان د . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

. . . . . .　بسوی این خط بدیع کند

برای حاجب خود راز بان . . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

TRANSLATION.

*　*　*　*　*

By whose religious wars the soul of the Prophet has been pleased.
'Alā'u-d-dunya waddīn . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

Over whose head the Royal canopy is the umbrella of Divine protection,
The year from the *migration* of the Prophet . . . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

. . . by the grace of God may he rule till eternity,
By the efforts of the elect of God may the spear . . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

. . . . whoever may look at this elegant writing,
For his minister, the privy councillor . . . .

*　*　*　*　*

XXXII.—Inscription on Ikhtīyāru-d-Daulah's tomb, Cambay.

Cambay (*Khambāyat*, 22° 18′ N. and 72° 40′ E.) is mentioned by Mas'ūdī (915), and later by Marco Polo and his countryman and contemporary Marino Sanudo, as one of the most flourishing ports of India.[1] In 1298 'Alā'u-d-dīn's army under Nuṣrat Khān and Ulugh Khān conquered Gujarat, and, when they proceeded to Kambāya or Khambāih (Cambay), they levied large quantities of jewels and precious articles from the merchants of that place, who were very rich.[2] Later Alp Khān, brother-in-law of the Sulṭān, was appointed Nāẓim of Gujarat, who governed the province most successfully, and, when he was recalled and killed by the king, great disorders arose in that country. In 716 A.H. Quṭbu-d-dīn, having succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, sent Malik Kamālu-d-dīn to restore order; but 'he obtained the honour of martyrdom and the disturbances became greater than ever.'[3] Our inscription is dated 716 A.H.

1 *Travels of Marco Polo* (edited by H. Yule), Vol. II, p. 398, *Note* 1. Ibni Baṭūṭā wrote that the greater part of its inhabitants were foreign merchants. *Travels* (English translation), pp. 146 and 164.

2 *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 74 and 163.

3 *History of Gujarat* by E. Bayley, p. 40.

and as it commemorates the martyrdom of Ikhtīyāru-d-Daulah, the Baḥr-Bek (Commander of the Sea), it confirms the rebellious condition of the country at that period.

The inscription is noticed in the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency* (p. 319), but the scholar who deciphered the text has committed a mistake in reading the official designation of Ikhtīyāru-d-Daulah as مخزن معمورہ کھنبایت (Treasurer of the City of Cambay), instead of بحر بک معمورۂ کھنبایت (Commander of the Sea in the City of Cambay). In the list of Maliks of 'Alā'u-d-dīn's reign, given by Baranī (Persian text, pp. 240-41), we find a Malik Ikhtīyāru-d-dīn Tagīn, who may be identical with the Ikhtīyāru-d-dīn of the inscription, because Gujarat was an important province of the empire and a Malik might have been posted to the responsible office of Commander of the Sea.

Mr. Rakhal Das Bannerji, who has been kind enough to send me an inked rubbing of the inscription, writes that the inscription is cut on an arch-shaped marble tablet (4′ 3″ × 1′ 7″) fixed at the head of a plain masonry sarcophagus, in the veranda of a modern building called Mādho Rāo's house, which is used as a sort of guest-house by the Cambay State at present.

The style of writing is *Naskh* and the language Arabic. I decipher the inscription as follows :—

PLATE III (c).

Top (arch): Qur'ān (Chap. LIX, verse 22).
Outer bands: Do. (Chap. II, verses 256-57).
Inner bands: Do. (Chap. III, verses 16-17).

Central portion (oblong parallelogram): Islamic creed, the *Bismillah*, Qur'ān (Chap. IX, verse 21, and Chap. XXIII, verse 30) and the following epitaph :—

هذا القبر للامير الكبير المرحوم المغفور السيد

الشهيد اختيار الدولة و الدين بحر بك معمورۂ كهنبايت

. . . برد الله مضجعه و آنس . . . . وحشته قد توفى ليلة

الثلثا سابع عشر من شهر جمادي الاخر سنه سادس

عشر و سبعمائة صلى الله على خير خلقه محمد و آله

TRANSLATION.

This is the grave of the great Amīr, whom God has taken into His mercy and whose sins have been pardoned, the Sayyid, the martyr, Ikhtīyāru-d-daulah waddīn, Baḥr Bek in the city of Khambāyat . . . . . may God cool his resting-place and alleviate his solitude! He died in the night on Tuesday, the 17th of Jumada II, 716 A.H. (6th September, 1316 A.D.). O God, bless the best of the creation, Muḥammad and his descendants!

XXXIII-XXXIV.—Two inscriptions of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, dated 718 A.H., on the Jhālar Bāolī at Bayānā.

The Jhālar Bāolī is situated about two miles north of Bayānā and derives its name from the pillared cloisters which surround it like a fringe (*jhālar*).[1] It is a fine monument, built entirely of red sandstone, and still in a good state of preservation in spite of its great age. The

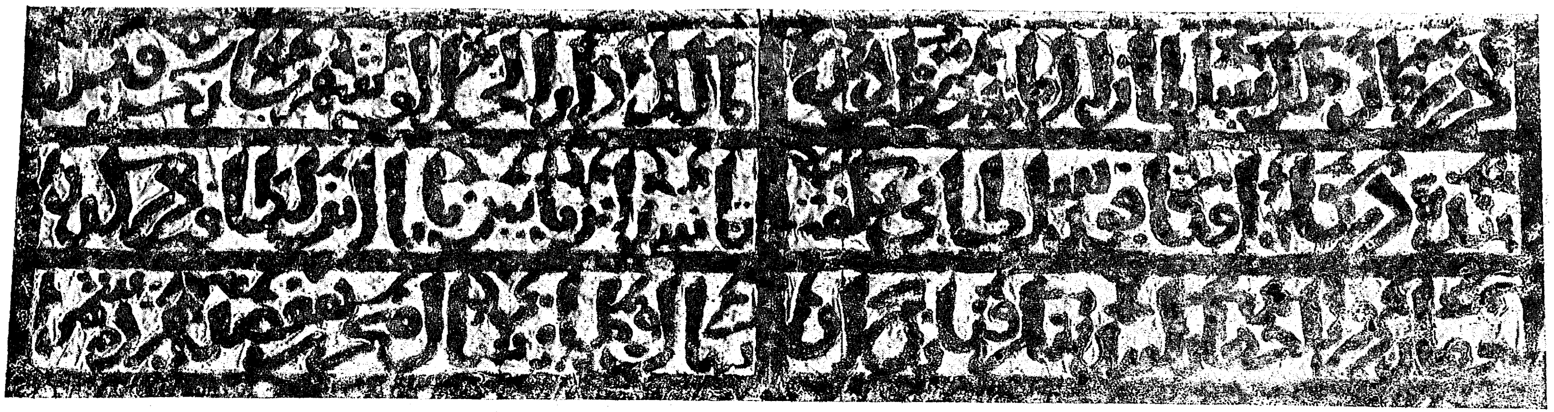
[1] For a full description of the monument see *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, pp. 69-70.

(*a*) Inscription on the north-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



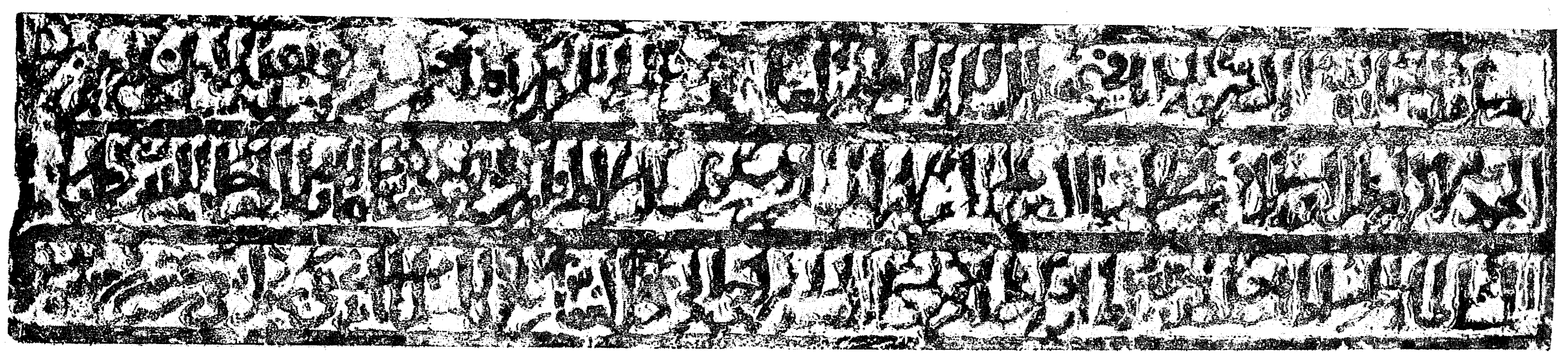
Scale ·166

(*b*) Inscription on the south-east doorway of the Jhalar Baoli, Bayana.



Scale ·2

(*c*) Inscription in the Ukha Masjid, Bayana.



Bāolī (reservoir of water) itself is 79′ square, while the whole building measures 127′ 6″ each way, externally, and has a domed entrance at each of the four corners, placed diagonally.

Over the N.-E. and S.-E. doorways of the Bāolī there are two inscriptions, in Arabic and Persian respectively, both dated in A.H. 718 (1318 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, and mentioning the name of Malik Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāolī. There is a third inscription in Sanskrit, inscribed on one of the jambs of the N.-E. doorway, which mentions the name of one Rāipat and the date—"Tuesday of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha, Saṁ. 1325 (A.D. 1268)."[1] This epigraph is unfortunately very short; it, however, shows that some portion of the masonry of the door on which the inscription is carved originally belonged to an old Hindu temple.

Malik Kāfūr survived Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn only thirty-five days, and as the latter, according to Baranī, expired in the first week of Shawwal 716 A.H., Malik Kāfūr must have died in Zū'l Qā'd of the same year.[2] The interesting point in the inscriptions is that both of them are dated 718 A.H., and, as stated above, they mention the name of Kāfūr as the builder of the Bāolī. This apparently contradictory information may be reconciled if we suppose that Kāfūr began the construction of the Bāolī during his lifetime, but that it was completed two years after his demise when the inscriptions were set up.

The script of both the inscriptions is *Naskh*, bold and rigid, typical of the inclinations of the rulers of that time. By the effects of weather the letters have been much abraded and, in the case of the Arabic inscription, the first line has entirely crumbled away. Both the inscriptions originally consisted of three lines. The written portion of the Arabic record, in its present condition, measures 4′ × 8′, while the Persian inscription is 3′ 6″ long and a foot broad.

The texts and translations of the inscriptions are given below.

Over the North-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (a).

(1) غوث الاسلام و المسلمین وارث خلافة داؤد و سلیمان ابي المظفر خلیفة الله مبارکشاه السلطان بن السطان (2) خلد الله خلافته العبد الراجي الي رحمة الرباني کافور السلطاني تقبل الله منه في سنه ثمان عشر و سبعماته ⊙

TRANSLATION.

The defence of Islam and the Muslims, heir of the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muzaffar Khalīfatu'llāh (Vicegerent of God) Mubārak Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of a Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom!—by the servant who is expectant of Divine mercy, Kāfūr, the Royal slave,—may God accept his prayer!—in the year 718 A.H. (1318 A.D.).

Over the South-east Doorway.

PLATE XIII (b).

(1) درزمان ملک(؟) سلطان الزمانه قطب دین مالک دارالخلافة شهریار بحر و بر
(2) بندهٔ درگاه او کافور سلطاني بگفت تا شد این مائین بنا باین لطافت درکدر
(3) چهار در با چهار گنبد بنگر و تاریخ آن سال وماه ازسال هجرت هفصد و هژده شمر[3]

[1] *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1907.

[2] *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 208-10.

[3] The metre of these lines is *Ramal*.

TRANSLATION.

During the time of the king, the Sulṭān of the age, the axis (basis) of religion,

The Lord of the capital, the monarch of sea and land,

The servant of his court, Kāfūr, the Royal slave, ordered,

Hence this reservoir (lit., water-building) with water so pure in such a muddy (environ).

Behold the four doors with four domes, and the date,

Calculate it 718, in the Hijra era. 1318 A.D.

XXXV.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī in the Poet Mīr Ḥasan's Tomb at Khuldābād, Aurangabād District.

Khuldābād, better known by its original name, Rauẓa (the Garden), is situated nine miles north of the Daulatabād Railway Station and seven miles off the Daulatabād Fort. It is a picturesque little town abounding in the tombs of saints who came out to the Deccan as missionaries in the wake of the early Muslim conquerors.[1] In 1707, Aurangzeb solicitously selected Rauẓa as his last resting place and this choice gave the town the modern name of Khuldābād after the title of the emperor, Khuld Makānī (of Heavenly abode).

The tomb of the Poet Mīr Ḥasan[2] is situated about 3 furlongs to the south-west of Khuldābād and comprises a small mosque and an open court enclosed by a wall. To the west of the poet's tomb, but in the same enclosure, is the grave of Malik Chhajjū, the nephew of Balban.[3] Near the latter grave the tablet of the present inscription is lying. The tablet has no connection with Malik Chhajjū's tomb and originally belonged either to the mosque within the enclosure or to some other building in the vicinity of which no trace exists now. The tablet is of a pinkish sandstone and measures 3′ 10″ × 1′.

The inscription commemorates the erection of a building in 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.), during the reign of Mubārak Shāh Khaljī, by one 'Ambar, grand-usher to Khusrau Khān.[4] According to Baranī, Mubārak Khaljī set out to punish Harpāl Deo and Rāmdeo, who had taken possession of Deogīr, in 718 A.H., and, according to the same author, it was after the capture of the Fort that he granted a canopy to Khusrau Khān and deputed him with a large army for the conquest of Mā'bar.[5] The date, 719 A.H., given in the inscription, is therefore in agreement with the above events.

The inscription is in Persian verse and consists of four lines. The metre is *Hazaj*. The style of writing is *Naskh*, of rather a crude character and poorer in effect than the contemporary script of Delhi. This may be accounted for by the assumption that the king came out to Deogīr to punish the Hindu Rajas, and might not have brought any calligrapher in his retinue.

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[1] Lt.-Col. T. W. Haig in his interesting book, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan* (Pioneer Press), has given a short but lucid account of the tombs at Rauẓa.

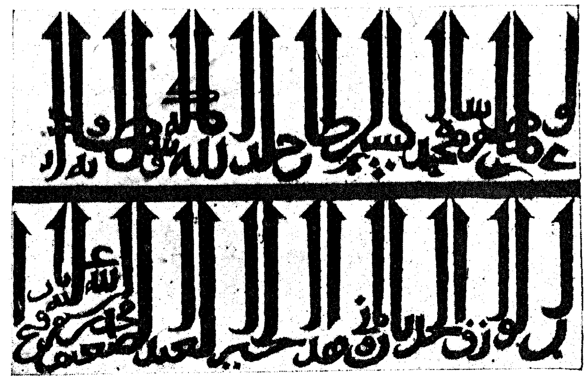
[2] He was one of the Court-poets of Sulṭān 'Ala'u-d-Dīn Khaljī to whom most of his laudatory poems are addressed. When Muḥammad Bin Tughlaq in 727 A.H. forcibly removed the inhabitants of Delhi to his new capital, Deogīr, Mīr Ḥasan went with them and died there in the same year. See *Badā'ūnī*, Vol. I, p. 226, *Baranī*, pp. 67, 359, and *Rieu* (Catalogue), Vol. I, p. 618.

[3] For the particulars of Malik Chhajjū's life see *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 520, Vol. III, pp. 135, 137-40, 536.

[4] For information about him see *Elliot*, Vol. III, pp. 211, 215, 219, 222-23, 226, 558, 564, 604-05, 607.

[5] *Idem*, pp. 214-15.

(*a*) Inscription of 'Ala'u-d-Din Khalji (copied from Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. XX.)



(*b*) Inscription of Mubarak Shah Khalji from Khuldabad (Aurangabad).



Scale 166.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XXIV (b).

(1) بعهد دولت سلطان عالم * که عدلش درجهان چون شمس تابان

(2) شه گیتي قطب دین و دنیا * مبارکشاه سلطان ابن سلطان

(3) بنا کرد این عمارت بنده عنبر * یکی از (؟) حجّاب اعظم خسرو خان

(4) محرم ماه بود از عشر اول * و از تاریخ هفصد نوزده دان[1]

TRANSLATION.

(1) In the reign of the king of the universe, whose justice is shining in the world like the Sun;

(2) The lord of the universe, the axis of the faith and the world, Mubārak Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of a Sulṭān,

(3) The slave 'Ambar, (who is) one of the chief-ushers of Khusrau Khān, built this mosque.

(4) It was the first decade of the month of Muḥarram, and you should know the year as 719 A.H. (1319 A.D.).

XXXVI.—Inscription of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh in the Ukha Masjid, Bayānā, dated 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

The Ukha Masjid is one of the largest buildings in Bayānā, and occupies a space of 124′ in length from east to west by 74′ from north to south.[2] The plan of the building comprises a prayer-hall, which is four aisles deep, a courtyard with cloisters on the north and south sides (those on the south being a single aisle, while those on the north form a double aisle), and a gateway. The mosque was originally a Hindu temple, in which considerable additions and alterations have been made by the Muslims, although the inner side of the entrance retains its old Hindu arrangement. About the façade of the gateway Sir John Marshall, who inspected the monument in 1905, remarks—"The chief beauty of the structure lies in its entrance, the details of which call vividly to mind much of the ornamentation in the Quṭb buildings."[3]

The inscription, which is set over the archway of the entrance gate, records the erection of a mosque by Kāfūr Sulṭānī, in the reign of Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh, whose titles are given in full. The date written at the end of the inscription is 720 A.H. and it appears that this building also, like the Jhālar Bāolī, was completed after Kāfūr's death (*ante*, p. 39).

The style of writing is *Naskh* of an elegant type; but the letters have been much injured by the effects of weather. The language is Arabic. The inscriptional tablet measures 5′ 6″ × 1′ 3″.

[1] The metre of these lines is *Hazaj*.

[2] For a full description of the building see *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 71. The name Ukha (Uṣā) Masjid was framed by Cunningham, who selected the title for the sake of distinguishing the building from the adjoining temple, which is called Ukha Mandir.

[3] *Conservation Note on Bayānā*, by Sir John Marshall, dated 20th September, 1919.

I have deciphered the text as follows :—

PLATE XIII (c).

(1) امر بذا هذه العمارة المباركة الشريفة اللطيفة في عهد السلطان العالم العادل المعظم
مولى ملوك الشرق العرب و العجم مشيد قواعد الاحسان . . . . (2) الجود و الاكرام ظل الله
في الارضين قطب الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام و المسلمين مغيث الملوك و السلاطين وارث
خلافة داؤد و سليمان ابي المظفر خليفة الله مباركشاه (3) السلطان ابن السلطان خلد الله
سلطانه و ابد خلافته العبد الراجي الى عفو الغفار كافور السلطاني . . . . في سنة عشرين و
سبعمائة ⊙

TRANSLATION.

The slave, soliciting the pardon of the Merciful (God), Kāfūr Sultānī,[1] ordered the construction of this auspicious, noble and fine building, in the reign of the king of the world, the just, the most exalted, the king of the kings of the East—of Arabia and non-Arab countries—the confirmer of principles of benevolence . . . . of generosity and munificence, the shadow of God in the universe, Quṭbu-d-dunya waddīn, the defence of Islām and the Muslims, the helper of kings and monarchs, the successor to the kingdom of David and Solomon, Abu-l-Muẓaffar Khālifatu'llah Mubārak Shāh, the Sulṭān, son of a Sulṭān—may God perpetuate his kingdom ! . . . . . . in the year 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.).

XXXVII.—Inscription of Mubārak Shāh from Bhuilī (Mirzāpūr).

The inscription is engraved on a red sandstone tablet (2′ × 1′ 6″) fixed in the lower wall of a mosque in Dakhnī Tola at Bhuilī in the Mirzāpūr District.[2] The original building of the mosque seems to have decayed altogether, for the present structure is quite modern and has a tiled roof. The prayer-hall has three arched openings and measures 32′ 7″ × 9′ 10″.

Cunningham has referred to the inscription in *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 130 ; but, as the letters are much worn out, he could read only the name of the king. The inscription consists of five lines of Persian verse and is written in the *Naskh* characters. The metre is *Muẓūri'*.

I make out the epigraph as follows :—

PLATE XIV (b).

(1) فضل خدای بین کزو اسلام تازه شد . . . یگا . . عهد مملکت شهریار . . . .
(2) سلطان ابن سلطان شاه مبارک آنکه قطبی است کو خلیفهٔ عالم ... شد
(3-5) * * * * * * * * * * * *

TRANSLATION.

(1) See the grace of God that through him (the king) Islām has been revived . . . . of age, the lord of the kingdom . . . .

(2) The Sulṭān, son of a Sulṭān, Shāh Mubārak, who is a Quṭb (Chief) who has become the lord of the upper world.

(3-5) * * * * * * * *

[1] In the inscription the name of Kāfūr occurs after the name of the king.

[2] Bhuilī is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqat* (English translation, p. 550) as a *pargana* included in the fief of Muḥammad Bakhtiyār.